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ABSTRACT

THIS VOLUNTARY SCHOOL INTEGRATION PROJECT USES THE OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN OF THE BOSTON SCHOOL DEPARTMENT IN TRANSPORTING NEGRO CHILDREN FROM PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS IN THE BLACK DISTRICT TO MORE RACIALLY BALANCED SCHOOLS IN OTHER PARTS OF BOSTON. IT HAS INVOLVED PRIVATE FINANCING, INTRA-CITY BUSSING, AND THE INITIATIVE AND PARTICIPATION OF WORKING CLASS GHETTO RESIDENTS. ATTITUDINAL AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS ON THE CHILDREN PARTICIPATING IN THE PROJECT EXODUS IN GRADES THREE TO EIGHT, WERE OBTAINED AT THE FOLLOWING TIMES: THE FALL OF 1967 AND THE SPRING OF 1968. SIMILAR DATA WERE COLLECTED ON A COMPARISON GROUP OF CHILDREN NOT ENROLLED IN EXODUS AND ATTENDING PREDOMINANTLY BLACK SCHOOLS IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD. COLLECTION OF CHANGE DATA WAS COMPLETED FOR 151 CHILDREN. IT WAS FOUND THAT THE CHILDREN IN EXODUS SHOWED GREATER IMPROVEMENT IN CHANGE IN ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES, ALTHOUGH THEY DID NOT SHOW GREATER FATE CONTROL. FURTHER DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH ARE BEING DONE TO TRY TO MORE CLEARLY LOCATE THE FACTORS RELATED TO IMPROVEMENT IN BOTH THE AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE AREAS FOR EXODUS AND NON-EXODUS CHILDREN. APPENDIX A, "FAMILY EXPERIENCES IN OPERATION EXODUS, THE BUSSING OF NEGRO CHILDREN", BY JAMES TEELE, ELLEN JACKSON, AND CLARA MAYO (COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH JOURNAL MONOGRAPH NO. 3) IS NOT AVAILABLE FROM EDRS, BUT MAY BE OBTAINED FROM COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH JOURNAL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 605 WEST 115TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10025 FOR $1.75. (JM)

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FINAL REPORT

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THE STUDY OF PROJECT EXODUS:
A SCHOOL RACIAL INTEGRATION PROJECT IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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Summary

This is a report of reearch designed to assess the effects of a voluntary school integration project in Boston, known as Operation Exodus. Operation Exodus utilizes the open enrollment plan of the Boston School Department in transporting Negro children from predominantly Negro schools in the black district to more racially balanced schools in other parts of Boston.

Project Exodus Inc., formed in September, 1965, is apparently unique in that it has involved the following three factors: (1) private financing, (2) intra-city bussing, and (3) the initiative, organization, and industry of a group of predominantly working class, ghetto residents.

The study involved the collection of attitudinal and achievement test data on Exodus children--in grades three through eight--at two points in time: the fall of 1967 and the spring of 1968. At the same time, similar data was collected on a comparison group of children not enrolled in Exodus and attending predominantly black schools in their neighborhood. Collection of change data was completed for 151 children.

Two of the main hypotheses were: (1) Children participating in Project Exodus would be more likely to have the feeling that they can control their own fate than children not in Exodus; and (2) Exodus children will show more positive change in achievement than Non Exodus children.

The findings do not support the first hypothesis (re fate control). However the findings presented do support the hypothesis that the children in Exodus would show greater improvement in change in achievement test scores. Further data analysis and research are being undertaken in an effort to more clearly delineate the factors related to improvement, in both the affective and cognitive areas, for Exodus and Non Exodus children.

Final Report of The Study of Project Exodus:
A School Racial Integration Project in Boston, Massachusetts

Chapter I. Introduction

This is the report of an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness--measured by changes in achievement scores and changes in self-image ratings--of the school bussing project in Boston known as Operation Exodus. The operation known as Exodus was sponsored by black parents in Boston, beginning in 1965, and was designed to improve the educational opportunities and experiences of their children. The project took place in a context of substantial friction and conflict since long before its inception these black parents had found themselves at odds with educational officials and certain politicians who made political gains from the rather negative stance they took vis-a-vis both school integration and the education of black children. In fact, it is the writer's view that the importance of the political context--including changes in this context over time--is so great that heavy attention will be paid to it in this report.

There was good reason to assess the effectiveness of Project Exodus. The northern urban centers are generally characterized today by situations in which the following conditions are found: (a) de facto racial segregation of schools exist, (b) black children are reported to be reading substantially below expected grade level, (c) conflict, involving black parents, school officials, white parents, and politicians, is found around the issue of opening up educational opportunities for black children. Boston is roughly representative of this unhappy situation and provided an opportunity for one of the needed intensive case studies of such cities. Because of the need to study changes among children involved in school integration experiments, a matter sorely lacking in most studies of integration, it was also decided to assess social and academic changes among the Boston study group children. Coleman and other authors of the Coleman Report,[1] after a massive and valuable cross-sectional study of the factors associated with achievement test scores suggested the need for intensive community case studies and for the study of academic change in children. Coleman and his associates found that school racial composition, family background characteristics, and the attitudes of the children were all related to achievement test performance. The study reported on here takes these factors into account. Another reason why it was important to study Exodus is that it uniquely involved: private financing, ghetto blacks, and intra-city bussing. While some of these matters will be elaborated on during the course of the report, it is especially pertinent to emphasize here that the majority of school bussing and other school integration programs within the United States are sponsored and financed by local governments.

With respect to other details of the report the following presentation will be made: (1) a description of the research problems, (2) the study group of Exodus children and Exodus parents will be described, (3) the manner of selection of the comparison group of Non Exodus children and their parents is presented, (4) the study hypotheses will be presented, (5) instruments used in data gathering are presented, (6) the salient findings for children in grades 3 through 8 are then presented and discussed, and (7) lines which subsequent research in this area should take are suggested.

Data to be presented stems mainly from repeated interviews conducted with parents of children in Exodus and of parents of children not in Exodus and from pre and post achievement tests and questionnaires completed by the Exodus and Non Exodus children. The following section of the report, however, presents a discussion of the educational problem and the educational context for blacks in Boston.

Chapter II. Background of The Educational Problem For Blacks in Boston[2]

Interviews with black residents of Boston, held in the mid-1960's, revealed that in the early 1960's a large number of parents felt that their children were receiving an inadequate education in Boston. These respondents felt that teacher turnover, teacher absenteeism, infrequency or total lack of homework assignments and overcrowded classrooms were responsible for the basic weaknesses which they saw in the children's educational development. Initial concern over these conditions met with little positive response from educational officials. A brief chronology of actions beginning in 1962 and showing the concern of Roxbury Negroes, follows: (1) in 1962 local civil rights groups charged that de facto segregation existed in Roxbury schools; (2) in 1963, after the School Committee's repeated denials that de facto segregation existed, the first freedom stay-out (of schools) by Negroes was held with 2,500 Negro students participating; (3) in 1964, a second school boycott was held with more than 10,000 Negro students participating; and (4) in 1965 the parents began getting desperate over the situation. It is revealing to quote the remarks of one of the most articulate of these parents in 1965 who were still relatively unorganized at that time:

> The problem of overcrowding in Roxbury schools became a severe situation when parents felt frustrated and disillusioned over the lack of communication between themselves and administrators in seeking solutions to the problem. Quality education is unavailable in Roxbury, not only because of overcrowded conditions, but also because of inadequate development of staff, out-dated curriculum, and the lack of incentive in teachers for developing creativity in our children.

> We found ourselves as parents caught up in a political maneuver between members of the Boston School Committee and city officials who engaged in dialogue over whether there was a "de jure" problem similar to that of the south or a "de facto" (confined to the north) pattern in our schools. Regardless of which phrase we adopted to describe this disgraceful situation, we felt a severe harm was being done to our children. This controversy over an inadequate education and whether or not racial imbalance exists does not happen to be a new battle. It has been waging here since 1962.

We think the point that parents were seeking a good education for their children is illustrated by the above statement. It also underlines the repeated frustrations felt by Negro parents when public officials quarrel over whether or not racial imbalance exists instead of communicating with families and addressing themselves to the real problem as perceived by the parents: the adequacy and effectiveness of the children's education. It is most interesting that although few of the parents proposed school integration for the sake of integration and indeed most of them were fearful of sending their children into what was perceived as a hostile environment, nevertheless, many of the parents saw school integration at non-black schools outside of Roxbury as the only possible answer to their problem. That is, they had no hopes that the administration of their neighborhood schools or that the quality of their children's education in them would be immediately improved on the basis of individual initiative. But they did believe that the educational bureaucracy would respond to: a better organized body of black parents, the force of law, and (an assumed) white public opinion in favor of school integration. They were wrong in these beliefs as the educational bureaucracy did not even respond positively to their efforts to initiate contact, much less to their desires for a quality education for their children.

More specifically, and true to Litwak and Meyer's[3] prediction about the type of coordinating mechanism which the primary group would employ in its attempt to communicate with the bureaucracy (the school stay-outs had been organized by civil rights organizations, not parents) the parents, in 1965, formed themselves into a voluntary association called the "North Dorchester-Roxbury Parent Association." This association pointed out the failings of the educational system vis-a-vis blacks in Boston to the educational bureaucracy but failed to achieve the balanced relationship with this bureaucracy which Litwak and Meyer indicate is necessary for goal achievement. Although the parent association had some power and apparently acquired allies, the educational bureaucracy remained unimpressed. Following is a sketchy outline of events which in part preceded and in part followed the formation of the parent association in Boston in 1965.

The Massachusetts State Board of Education had become concerned about the increasing number of voices raised in criticism against the inadequate educational opportunities provided for black children in Boston. It (the State Board) decided to deal with the issue of school racial imbalance and made possible a report on school racial imbalance prepared by the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education.[4] The charge to this committee in March 1964 included an effort to determine whether or not there was racial imbalance in schools and to study both its educational consequences and ways of dealing with it. In brief, the Advisory Committee did find (report dated April 1965) that racial imbalance exists in some of the communities of Massachusetts (primarily in Boston) and that its effects are harmful. Subsequently, in August 1965, the Massachusetts legislature enacted the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act (Chapter 641, Acts 1965) providing for the elimination of racial imbalance in public schools, the first such state legislation in the country. The act declares it to be the policy of the Commonwealth:

> to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools. The prevention or elimination of racial imbalance shall be an objective in all decisions involving the drawing or altering of school attendance lines and the selection of new school sites. (Section 37C)

In spite of this new state law, in spite of the influence of the parent association and in spite of the evidence showing the extent of racial imbalance in Boston schools, the Boston School Committee still failed to take appropriate corrective action or even to communicate with the parent association.

Indeed, the School Committee passed a proposal in mid-summer of 1965, which banned use of school funds for the bussing of Negro children to the roughly 7,000 vacant seats throughout the broader Boston community. On the heels of this, the Superintendent stated that the only feasible solution to school overcrowding was to invoke a double-session day. All of these decisions, negative ones as far as the education of Negro children is concerned, were said to be aimed at the preservation of the neighborhood school. The weakness of the neighborhood school concept, however, is the tendency of many school officials to stand behind it as a defense for inactivity in Negro ghettoes.

Indeed, the School Committee's stand made clear to Negro parents, who had relied on the school authorities to educate their children, the fact that the educational system was ignoring their children's needs.

In the face of these repeated frustrations, the Negroes of Dorchester and Roxbury became convinced that they would have to try other problem-solving means. Mrs. Ellen Jackson, the President of the Parent Association recalls the final events leading from the cessation of attempts to communicate with the educational bureaucracy through the mechanism of a voluntary association:

> It was because of these many affronts and confrontations with an unheeding school committee and school board that we decided that other action was necessary. After the statement by Superintendent Ohrenberger, we called a parents' meeting at the Robert Gould Shaw House in Dorchester. Around 250 parents attended, and we discussed the problem and possible avenues to a solution. We agreed to meet nightly for a short duration, until an operative program could be mapped out. At the close of this meeting in July, 1965, there was a general consensus that a telegram should be sent to Attorney General Katzenbach seeking an injunction in order to keep this double session day from going into effect. We also met with him several weeks later when he arrived in Boston to attend a penal convention. At this time we were assured by a man (apparently a Katzenbach assistant) who said he freely recognized the shortcomings of a double session day, because his children had been victims of it, and that he would look into the matter.
>
> Time moved on and school was but a few weeks off. We continued to meet nightly, and attempted to arrive at a solution. We finally confined ourselves to three specific approaches to our problem. The first consisted of forming a human chain of parents around a school and not allowing anyone to trespass. Secondly, some parents wanted to pressure more extensively, by using petitions and pickets. The third idea was to have sit-ins by parents in both classrooms and the School Committee office. Almost by a process of elimination, we voted against all three proposals because in all instances the inconvenience would be to ourselves and our children, just as in previous demonstrations, producing short-range results. We arrived at the position of mass displacement of Negro children, now called Exodus, in order to take advantage of the 7,000 vacant seats throughout the city and available under the Open Enrollment Policy. Problems arose around this decision: how to transport, and where to finance. We called a final meeting on September 8th, attended by 600 community people. At 12:30 that night, we found ourselves with 250 children to bus and with many families committed to our program. We left the meeting and embarked on a wild recruitment program to round up transportation. We called all through the night until 4 a.m.,

> and wound up having seven buses donated by private organizations and civil rights groups. At 8 a.m. September 9, 1965, all buses, cars and children were ready to roll. The money for our buses was donated by various groups, such as the NAACP, labor unions, and from many individuals. The second day of school, we had financial support from merchants and business men in our immediate community. Thus, the die had been cast.

Thus the immediate result of the failure to attain satisfactory communication and action from the educational bureaucracy was change of the role of the parent association from that of a group attempting to establish linkage with the educational bureaucracy to a group whose chief function was one ordinarily performed by the educational bureaucracy. In classic theory of bureaucracy, this then put the primary group in conflict with the bureaucracy. The parents had actually believed that they would have to run the bussing operation for only a few days and that both their demonstrated concern and their taking over a function of the educational bureaucracy would so embarrass the school bureaucracy that it would immediately agree to show its goodwill and intention to obey the state law on school racial imbalance by taking over the operation (and the expense) of the bussing. They were wrong in this hope or expectation: throughout the period of the study, ending in June, 1968, and afterwards, these parents continued to bus their children at their own expense without either state or city assistance. (At the time of this writing, however, it is possible to report that the Board of Education of Boston has finally agreed to assume the transportation costs for the bussing of children in Exodus for the 1969-70 academic year. The associated clerical and administrative costs, however, are still being borne by the parents.)

Chapter III. A. The Research Problem

The major focus of the research reported on here was on (1) changes in reading achievement and self-image among the Exodus and Non Exodus children (grades 3 through 8) over time, and on (2) factors related to such changes. Factors related to change which are considered include parental attitudinal and background factors, school factors (child's grade, racial composition of his school), and the children's own attitudes (e.g., fate control). The heart of this analysis involves the comparison of changes among Exodus and Non Exodus children from the beginning to the end of a single academic year: 1967-1968. While this is a very brief period over which change assessments are to be made, it is still an improvement over cross-sectional studies which do not focus on change at all. Recognizing the weakness in the basic change analysis, however, it was also decided to include, in this study, an assessment of change for all of the children ever in Exodus from its beginning in 1965 through June 1968. Although this permits the study of changes among Exodus children over a three-year period, it is emphasized that only for the third year of this program was there a comparison group of Non Exodus children available.

With respect to the criterion variable to be used in the evaluation of bussing programs, such as Exodus, it can and should be argued that achievement test scores are inadequate as the sole criterion of the success or failure of bussing programs.[5] Changes in the attitudes of black and white parents, teachers and children would seem to be at least as worthy of study as achievement score changes. Consequently, in the study reported on here, considerable attention was given to changes in the self-image scores of Exodus and Non Exodus children. While some of the issues involved in the use of achievement scores are also present with respect to the use of self-image measures, the present discussion focuses on a description of the factors which should be considered in the evaluation of integration programs when achievement scores are the criterion of success.

As long as the variables of quality education and integrated education are inseparable in bussing programs, it behooves the effective evaluation researcher to direct himself broadly and with minimal bias to the identification of the mediating variables that intervene between the mere fact of bussing and changes in achievement scores.

An honest effort at evaluation should include at least some of the following, too often unexamined factors:

. . . Family characteristics (socioeconomic status, attitudes toward education, aspirations for the children, education of parents, attitude toward control of environment, etc.).
. . . The children's attitudes (toward education, toward control of environment, toward self, toward children of different racial groups, etc.).
. . . The test situation (nature of the tests used, the race of the tester, the context of the testing, etc.).
. . . The climate of the school (the attitude of principals and teachers toward members of the black community and toward the learning ability of black children).
. . . Curriculum content (whether strong efforts have been made to provide in the curriculum an adequate and frank account of black history and of black achievements).
. . . The political climate (i.e., whether or not politicians and school board leaders engaged in school integration voluntarily).
. . . Local community influence in the educational process.

While, in the present case, data are available on some of these factors, there are gaps in the data where other factors (for example, the attitudes of principals and teachers and the curriculum content) are concerned.[6] In addition to certain aspects of the political climate (described earlier), data was collected on family characteristics, on children's attitudes, and on the racial composition of the schools. Since much relevant data was not collected, the study reported on here cannot be thought of as definitive.

B. Prior Relevant Research and Theory

The report by Coleman and his associates is the most comprehensive research dealing with aspects of the problem considered in the research reported here. More specifically, the Coleman Report dealt with: (a) the relationship of school racial composition to academic achievement for Negro and white children, (b) the relationship of family background characteristics to academic achievement,[7] (c) the relationship of the children's attitudes and feelings to academic achievement. A thoughtful report by Katz[8] is highly relevant, particularly for his consideration of the importance of the children's attitudes, feelings, and motivations. A report by Wilson[9] is also pertinent to the consideration of the relationship between school racial composition and academic achievement, mediated by aspirations.

One of the first systematic investigations of the relationship between the student body characteristics and educational outcomes was conducted by Alan Wilson. Wilson, in a study of the relationship between attendance at social class-segregated schools and aspirations to attend college and to attain professional employment found that both aspirations to attend college and to hold professional jobs were severely restricted among boys attending predominantly "working class" schools in contrast to boys in predominantly "white collar" schools. This finding, incidentally, holds when the social status of the family--indexed by father's occupation and parental educational level--is held constant. Thus, when the sons of professionals attended a "high class" school, 93 per cent of them wished to attend college, but when the sons of professionals attended a "working class" school, only 64 per cent of them wished to attend college! For the sons of manual workers, the comparable proportions were 59 per cent and 33 per cent. Furthermore, when grades or IQ's are held constant, substantially more of the students receiving the same grade in the "high class" schools want to attend college. Clearly, then, the school's atmosphere was as important as social class in influencing a boy to attend college. Wilson concludes that

> the de facto segregation brought about by concentration of social classes in cities results in schools with unequal morale climates which likewise affect the motivation of the child, not necessarily by inculcating a sense of inferiority, but rather by providing a different ethos in which to perceive values.[10]

Findings by Coleman and his associates authoritatively support and extend the findings of Wilson. Coleman and his colleagues found that as the proportion of white students increases in a school, achievement among Negroes and Puerto Ricans increases because of the association among white ethnicity, educational aspirations, and socio-economic advantages.[11] Because of the possible confounding effects of the student's own educational background and aspirations, Coleman controlled the student's own background characteristics throughout the analysis. These authors also show that school facilities and curricula and teacher characteristics account for far less variation in the achievement of minority group children than do attributes of other students.

Since Coleman and his associates collected their data at a single point in time, however, they were unable to deal directly with the ways in which changes in aspirations might be related to improved achievement scores. The fact that they did present data to show that Negro ninth graders with the longest experience of integrated schooling had a much higher achievement score than ninth graders who had never had white classmates (Table 3.3.2) suggests that changes in aspirations as well as changes in achievement might result from the prolonged attendance of Negro students at schools which contain a high proportion of white students. However, Coleman and his associates did study the relationship between student attitudes and achievement test scores. These attitudes, which are quite parallel to the factors mentioned by Katz[12] as being related to achievement are: (1) interest in school work and reading outside of school, (2) self-concept, with respect to learning and success in school, and (3) sense of control of own fate. Coleman and his associates report that, "Of all the variables in the survey, including all measures of family background and all school variables, these attitudes showed the strongest relation to achievement at all three grade levels"[13] (grades 6, 9, and 12).

The social adjustment of Exodus and Non Exodus children was also a central part of the study reported here. The children were asked questions designed to tap the extent to which they have white and non-white friends, feel accepted by their classmates, feel that their teachers approve of them and so on. Such variables are related to achievement changes. Summarizing some of the relevant work done in this area, Katz suggests that special attention should be given to the distinction between the racially integrated classroom, in which the minority child experiences acceptance, and the merely desegregated classroom, where he feels unwelcome. Although Coleman says little on this point, Katz reports that "further unpublished analyses of the Coleman data by James McPartland reveal the expected difference between truly integrated and merely desegregated schools. Those schools with more than half white student bodies whose Negroes score well, when compared with similar schools whose Negroes score poorly, are characterized by greater cross-racial acceptance as predicted. Their students were much more likely to report close friends among members of the other race than students in the merely desegregated schools."[14] In the present study, similar comparisons have been made between schools where cross-racial acceptance is high and schools where cross-racial acceptance is low. Also, following up the earlier study of the mothers in Exodus, assessment has been made of the relationship between the Exodus mother's estimate of her child's acceptance at school and the child's school performance. In the earlier study, an inverse relationship was found between the mother's estimate of the prejudice her child encountered and the mother's judgment of the benefits of attending an integrated school.[15]

C. Hypotheses

The design of the present study, differing from other relevant studies which relied on data collected at a single point in time, permitted an opportunity for the assessment of changes over at least one school year and in some cases, even longer. Based on prior research and theory, the theoretical foundation of the reported research was that learning ability of the Exodus children would progress at a faster pace than Non Exodus children because of the complex of factors which are related to, and which result from, their involvement in Exodus. Among the Exodus children, moreover, it was anticipated that those who attended schools characterized by an accepting atmosphere, would progress more than those who did not attend such schools.

It was also believed, consistent with Rotter's[16] and Coleman's[17] sense of personal control over the environment, that those children who participated in Exodus would be more likely to come from families which have high aspirations for the children, as well as a sense of control of fate and that the children, in turn, would be likely to believe that they can influence events. Such children, in contrast to Non Exodus ones, were expected to benefit more from the school academic experience.

Consistent with findings by Coleman and his associates, as well as by others, it was further anticipated that the proportion of white students attending the schools of Exodus and Non Exodus children would influence the school learning atmosphere and hence, achievement of the Negro children. It was felt, however, that this would more likely be the case when the Negro children experienced a genuine feeling of acceptance from teachers and classmates.

Such reasoning led to the formulation of several hypotheses pertaining to the children's school performance. These hypotheses are grouped under First Phase Hypotheses (based on initial survey data of parents and children, collected in early October of 1967) and Second Phase Hypotheses (based on changes which took place between October, 1967, and June of 1968). Although data was also collected on children who were participating in Exodus for a second or a third year, all hypotheses stated here apply only to new Exodus children, i.e., those participating for the first time in 1967 and the comparison group of Non Exodus children.

First Phase Hypotheses:

1. The children participating in Project Exodus in contrast to Non Exodus children will have a feeling that they can control their fate.
2. The children in Exodus will have higher aspirations for themselves than will the Non Exodus children.
3. The Exodus children will be more interested in learning than will Non Exodus children.
4. The Exodus children will have more positive self-images than will Non Exodus children.

Second Phase Hypotheses:

1. Exodus children will show more positive change in achievement than Non Exodus children.
2. The more accepting Exodus children feel their teachers and classmates are of them, the greater the positive change in achievement.
3. Among Exodus children who feel accepted, a direct relationship will exist between proportion of white classmates and positive change in achievement.
4. Exodus as well as Non Exodus children who have a sense of control of own fate will show more positive change in achievement than will children who do not have a sense of fate control.

Chapter IV. Method

A. Study Group of Children

As noted earlier, the Exodus bussing operation began in the fall of 1965. While data concerning parent motivations and parent impressions of the program were gathered in the first two years of the operation, no direct data was obtained from the children themselves. Such data (from children) was not sought for several reasons. First, in view of the parents' initial skepticism about the role and value of research on the children--children who were considered to be undergoing stress anyway--it was felt that the parents would not take kindly to research on their children. Secondly, the researcher (present author) himself felt that the program was important primarily because it represented the organization of black parents around a key educational problem. As such, the researcher felt that it was much more important to gather data on the parents' motivations for joining in and their aspirations for their children than to collect achievement test or attitudinal data from the children. By the end of the second year of the program (and of the study), however, the parents were quite receptive to the notion that data should be gathered from the children. Thus, with the aid of a grant from the United States Office of Education and consent of the parents, data was sought on all Exodus children in grades 3-8 and on a comparison group of Non Exodus children, i.e., attending Roxbury schools both at the beginning and at the end of the third year of the program: the 1967-1968 academic year. Since Exodus was still enrolling new children for the 1967-1968 year, it was felt that a comparison group of Non Exodus children could be selected from the adjacent children (on class rolls) at the sending schools who remained in these predominantly black schools. While data would also be collected on the previously enrolled Exodus children (from the 1965-66 and 1966-67 school years), no plans were made to collect data on a comparison group of Non Exodus children covering these earlier years. Thus data on the Non Exodus children was collected in the 1967-1968 year.

Although the original design called for the inclusion of children only in grades 3-6, children in grades 7 and 8 were also included in the study. It was decided to include children from grades 7 and 8 since the early registration of new Exodus children from grades 3-6 in August of 1967, indicated that there would be fewer of such children than earlier estimates called for.

Figures below show the number of Exodus and Non Exodus children on whom data was sought and gathered (grades 3-8) in the fall of 1967 and the number re-tested in the spring of 1968. These data are arranged according to the year in which the child entered the study.

	Test Desired Fall 1967	Test Completed Fall 1967	Re-Tested Spring 1968
Exodus Children (entered 1965)	109	97	63
Exodus Children (entered 1966)	70	58	38
Exodus Children (entered 1967)	95	80	32
Non Exodus Children (entered 1967)	80	40	18
TOTALS	354	275	151

It is emphasized that the above figures refer only to children in grades 3-8. At least an equal number of Exodus children attended other grades. Moreover, for the Exodus children as well as the Non Exodus children, tests were administered only where the parents' permission was granted in advance. Thus while 235 Exodus children (from grades 3-8) were tested in the early fall of 1967, 40 additional Exodus children were either not given permission by parents to take the test or were absent from school on the day of the testing. In the spring of 1968, 57 per cent of those Exodus children tested in the fall were retested. One reason for this was that some of the Exodus parents withheld permission for the retesting. Also, Exodus had discontinued two of its nine bus routes in a move to pare expenses with the children on these particular buses being told to take public transportation to school. While the children agreed to take public transportation to school, this fact made it more difficult to test this particular group of children. Even though the parents had given permission for testing in these particular cases, the children's inclination to avoid the test sessions apparently increased, with obvious results. Finally, a number of Exodus children who started the program dropped out of it.

The reason for the relatively small number of Non Exodus children tested in the fall is attributable to the selection procedure used. Once a new Exodus child--entering in 1967--was tested, the name and address of the child adjacent to him at the "sending" school in the previous year (1966-1967), on an alphabetic classroom list, were requested from the Boston School Board. Since 80 new Exodus children (entering in 1967) were tested, the names and addresses of 80 Non Exodus adjacent children were readily obtained from the Boston School Board. Unfortunately, about 15 of the 80 children on this list had moved during the intervening summer and could not be located, although strenuous efforts were made to locate them and their parents. One reason for this was that neighbors were reluctant to give information; a second reason was that often the child's last name differed from the parent's last name and so the parents could not possibly be traced. Ten families were excluded because they had never heard of Exodus. Of the remaining 55 Non Exodus parents, 15 refused us permission to test and administer questionnaires, leaving 40 Non Exodus children on whom data were collected. Indeed, the gaining of test data from these 40 involved far more pre-test preparations and test occasions than were required for all of the Exodus children. (Once the Non Exodus families participated in the study, however, they were no more likely to drop out than were the Exodus families entering in 1967.)

In view of the fact that only half of the target group of 80 Non Exodus children were tested, it was decided to request reading test scores on the 80 Non Exodus children--as of both September, 1967 and May 1968 from the Boston School Department. Again the Boston School Department was most cooperative and has supplied us with both fall and spring reading stanines for 18 additional Non Exodus children, thus making a total of 36 Non Exodus children on whom reading stanines are available.

B. Parent Interviews

For the 1967-1968 school year, there were 75 families enrolled in Exodus for the first time. Of these, 63 (84 per cent) of the mothers were interviewed in the fall of 1967 (October). Among the 12 families not interviewed, about eight had moved since registering with Exodus and could not be located, while four families refused to be interviewed. (The children from these 12 families also did not participate in the research.)

Among the target group of 80 Non Exodus families, 43 of the mothers were interviewed. (Thus, in all parental interviews, the mothers were the respondents, as planned.) Thus, a slightly larger number of Non Exodus mothers participated than of Non Exodus children. This occurred because the Non Exodus mothers were more inclined to be interviewed than to permit their children to be tested.

In the spring of 1968, re-interviews were attempted with the 63 Exodus mothers whose children entered in 1967 and with the 43 Non Exodus mothers who were interviewed in the fall of 1967. The re-interviews were begun in May, 1968. At the same time, re-interviews were also attempted on the Exodus mothers whose children's participation in the project had begun in 1965 or 1966. Thus the target parent interview group includes 233 Exodus parents from the three-year period 1965-67 and 43 Non Exodus mothers for a total of 276. While re-interview data was gathered on about 60 per cent of all the parents in the study in the spring of 1968, some of these re-interviewed parents did not permit their children to participate in the research. Moreover, there were instances in which the reverse occurred. The loss rate, then, with respect to failure to obtain 1968 data from parents and/or children is due to (a) parents who have moved and could not be located even via the Exodus office files, (b) parents who have transferred their children to another school system in the suburbs, (c) parents who did not wish to be interviewed again, (d) parents whose children dropped out of the schools to which they were being bussed, and (3) parents who refused to allow the researchers to contact their children in 1968 even though they gave permission in 1967.

In view of the loss in parent follow-up data for 1968 and because several previous research reports on the parents have been published or presented recently (Appendixes A, B, and C) while no previous reports have been made on the performance of the children in Exodus, the present report deals primarily with the children. However, some of the parent background variables (obtained from the parents) were employed as controls in the analysis of some of the children's change data and will be presented subsequently.[18]

Interviewers and Testers

Interviewers--following a practice different from that used in previous years when Exodus parents were the interviewers--were Non Exodus professionals and Non Exodus non-professionals: six of each type. Training sessions were held in the weeks preceding the interviewing and the need for standardized procedures emphasized.

The testers were all school teachers, employed after school to test the children and to administer questionnaires in a standard test site. The same testers were used in both the fall and spring test administration.

Contents of Instruments Employed With Children

The Metropolitan Achievement Reading and Vocabulary Tests were utilized both in the fall of 1967 and the spring of 1968. (Different forms, of course, with high inter-reliability, were employed.) The 1967 questionnaires were primarily designed to assess--for both Exodus and Non Exodus children--the following:

(1) Child's attitudes toward
    (a) self (self-image)
    (b) control of environment (fate control)
    (c) his or her teachers
    (d) the school attended
    (e) classmates

(2) Child's estimate of his classmates' perception
    (i.e., liking) of him.

(3) Child's behavior re
    (a) attendance at school
    (b) making cross-racial friendships

The repeat questionnaires, administered in the spring of 1968, were very similar in content to the earlier ones since they were designed for the purpose of assessing changes.[19]

Data Processing and Analysis

Standard survey research methods were employed in the codification of the data. The analysis is divided into four phases: (a) comparison of Exodus and Non Exodus children and families on background and school variables, (b) the presentation of 1967 baseline data by number of years in Exodus, (c) a change analysis for Exodus children by number of years in Exodus, and (d) a comparison of changes in Exodus and Non Exodus children.

Chapter 5. Baseline Data. A. Demographic and Family Characteristics

Although the manner of selection of Non Exodus children was expected to produce similar demographic distributions for the two groups of Exodus and Non Exodus children entering in September 1967, it was realized that this method would not assure that earlier cohorts of Exodus children would have similar distributions. Because of this latter problem, it was decided to present the demographic and family structure variables first for all Exodus and Non Exodus children, and secondly to present some of these data for the three entering cohorts of Exodus children (i.e., in 1965, 1966, and 1967).

With respect to sex and age the distributions for Exodus and Non Exodus children are very similar with there being absolutely no difference in the proportion of males for the two groups (see Table 1). With respect to grade distribution there is some difference (although not a substantial one) between the Exodus and Non Exodus groups (see Table 1). It is believed that a greater number of older Exodus children were tested because of the convenience of having a bus provided for their transportation to the test site while Non Exodus older children were asked to walk to a neighborhood test site.

Table 1. Demographic and School Characteristics of Exodus and of Non Exodus Children As of September 1967
(N for Exodus Children = 235;
N for Non Exodus Children = 37)*

Variables			
1. Sex:	Proportion Males		
Exodus:	(114) 48.5%		
Non Exodus:	(18) 48.6%		
2. Age:	7-10 years of age	11-15 years of age	Unknown
Exodus:	(123) 52.3%	(108) 46.0%	(4) 1.7%
Non Exodus:	(22) 59.5%	(15) 40.5%	
3. Grade in School:	Grades 3 and 4	Grades 5 - 8	
Exodus:	(84) 35.7%	(151) 64.3%	
Non Exodus:	(17) 45.9%	(20) 54.1%	

*(N for Non Exodus is 37 because 3 of the 40 completed Non Exodus questionnaires were incorrectly filled out and were excluded from the analysis).

Data on family structure of the children was also gathered and is presented below in Table 2. While both Exodus and Non Exodus children are living with their mothers in exact proportions, a larger number of Non Exodus than of Exodus children report the absence of a father in the home. Moreover, a substantially larger number of Exodus mothers are reported as working, either full or part time, in contrast with mothers of children not enrolled in Exodus (see Table 2). It seems altogether reasonable to believe that more of the Exodus mothers find it possible to work since more of them have husbands in the home who could, presumably, attend to the needs of the children while the mother is at work.

Table 2. Family Structure of Exodus and of Non Exodus Children in September 1967 (Exodus N = 235, Non Exodus N = 37)

Variables			
1. Living With Mother?	Yes	No	No Response
Exodus:	222 (94.5%)	6 (2.5%)	7 (3.0%)
Non Exodus:	35 (94.6%)	1 (2.7%)	1 (2.7%)
2. Living With Father?	Yes	No	No Response
Exodus:	173 (74.0%)	50 (21.0%)	12 (5.0%)
Non Exodus:	22 (59.5%)	14 (37.8%)	1 (2.7%)
3. Does Mother Work?	Yes, Full-Time	Yes, Part-Time	
Exodus:	102 (43.4%)	35 (14.9%)	
Non Exodus:	12 (32.4%)	1 (2.7%)	
	No	No Response	
Exodus:	71 (30.2%)	27 (11.5%)	
Non Exodus:	19 (51.4%)	5 (13.5%)	

Other family characteristics on which data is presented here include the child's birthplace, the mother's birthplace, and the father's occupation. Table 3 (below) shows that similar proportions of Exodus and Non Exodus mothers were born in the state of Massachusetts while a slightly larger number of Non Exodus children than of Exodus children were born in Boston and vicinity. Although the data on the father's occupation is sketchy, it is sketchier for the Non Exodus families. The sketchiness of the data on father's occupation is due perhaps in part to inadequate knowledge on the part of young children about their father's work. The difference, however, between Exodus and Non Exodus data is perhaps due to the larger number of Non Exodus children not having a father in the home. As far as the data on father's occupation is concerned, it appears that the Exodus fathers hold more higher status jobs than the Non Exodus fathers (see Table 3).

Table 3. Family Background Characteristics of Exodus and Non Exodus
Children in Grades 5-8 as of September, 1967
(N for Exodus Children = 151;
N for Non Exodus Children = 20)

Variables

1. Child's Birthplace:	Boston and Vicinity	Other Locale in Massachusetts	Other State	Foreign	No Info.
Exodus:	102 (67.6%)	13 (8.6%)	29 (19.2%)	2 (1.3%)	5 (3.3%)
Non Exodus:	16 (80.0%)	1 (5.0%)	2 (10.0%)	1 (5.0%)	

2. Mother's Birthplace:	Massachusetts	Another State	Another Country	No Information
Exodus:	34 (22.5%)	62 (41.1%)	19 (12.6%)	36 (23.8%)
Non Exodus:	5 (25.0%)	9 (45.0%)	1 (5.0%)	5 (25.0%)

3. Father's Occupation:	Executive, Office Manager or Entrepreneur	Salesman, Draftsman or Technician	Sales Clerk or Service Worker
Exodus:	18 (11.9%)	5 (3.3%)	22 (14.6%)
Non Exodus:	1 (5.0%)	--	3 (15.0%)

	Factory	Professional	Don't Know
Exodus:	29 (19.2%)	9 (6.0%)	68 (45.0%)
Non Exodus:	3 (15.0%)	--	13 (65.0%)

Since the demographic and family data on Exodus children, collected in 1967, involves children entering the program at three different points in time, it was decided to analyze these characteristics according to the year in which the child entered the program. This analysis revealed that no significant differences existed among the three cohorts on any of the demographic and family variables. In the case of "living with father," however, there was a consistent tendency for the proportion answering "yes" to decrease slightly each succeeding year of the program (see Table 4).

Table 4. Distribution of Exodus Children on Selected Variables by Year in Which They Entered the Program

1. Sex (N = 231)	Males	Females
1967	41 (51.9%)	38 (48.1%)
1966	28 (50.0%)	28 (50.0%)
1965	45 (46.9%)	51 (53.1%)

2. Living With Father? (N = 223)	Yes	No
1967	55 (70.5%)	23 (29.5%)
1966	41 (78.8%)	11 (21.2%)
1965	77 (82.8%)	16 (17.2%)

3. Does Mother Work? (N = 209)	Yes Full-Time	Yes Part-Time	No
1967	37 (52.1%)	8 (11.3%)	26 (36.6%)
1966	26 (52.0%)	12 (24.0%)	12 (24.0%)
1965	39 (44.3%)	15 (17.0%)	34 (38.6%)

B. Situations, Attitudes and Perceptions of Exodus Children

(1) Situations

While the foregoing data on demographic and family characteristics of the Exodus and Non Exodus children has been presented "as if" it were baseline data, it is emphasized that both the data presented above and the data to be presented in the remainder of this section (Baseline Data) were collected in the fall of 1967. This is emphasized since these data are presented for children entering in either 1965, 1966, or 1967. True baseline data would have been collected at the time the children entered the program. If these reservations are kept in mind, it is useful to observe the relationship between the number of years in the program and the situations, attitudes and perceptions of the children in the Exodus Program in the fall of 1967. It is also emphasized that children entering the program in 1967 had been in the program only a few weeks at the time of collection of the data presented in this section.

When relationship are presented, they are presented simply, using percentages. While Chi Square Tests of Significance were also computed, it is important to keep in mind that the Chi Square Test does not indicate the direction of a relationship and it is necessary for the analyst to inspect the data in the discernment of direction. In most instances, however, actual relationship are not presented in individual tables and only summary tables are presented.

One of the situations of interest in this study has to do with the time it took the children to get to school and with their mode of transportation. More than 80 per cent of the Exodus children took the school bus (provided by Exodus) to school with no substantial difference in this proportion by year in which children entered the program. More specifically, 79 per cent, 81 per cent and 83 per cent were the respective proportions of Exodus children taking the school bus among those entering the program in 1967, 1966, and 1965. Those not taking the school bus took public transportation, bicycled or walked; this primarily involved the older children in the program. No differences existed by year entering the program for the other modes of transportation to the school.

Interestingly enough, a relationship was found between years in the program and the amount of time spent getting to school, with the most recent entrants taking the longest time to get to school.

Table 5. Time It Takes Child To Get To School and Year Entered Bussing Program (N = 214)*

	Time To Get To School (In Percentages)					
Year Entered Program	10 Minutes or Less	About 20 Minutes	About 30 Minutes	About 45 Minutes	One Hour or More	100%
1967	17.4%	20.3%	17.4%	21.7%	23.2%	69
1966	23.1	23.1	28.8	11.5	13.5	52
1965	22.6	29.0	29.0	12.9	6.5	93

$\chi^2 = 15.294$, 8 df, $P = .05$

* 21 cases with no information on this item

The children entering in 1967, when compared with those entering in earlier years, had four times as many (in proportions) taking the largest amount of time (one hour or more) to get to school than those who entered in 1965 and twice as many as those entering in 1966. (Table 5). This apparently means that the Exodus administrators had to travel further each year in order to find a sufficient number of available seats under the open enrollment plan in Boston. Whatever the reason for the longer trip--and increasing numbers of cars in the city should not be ruled out--it would seem that the logistics and financial problems facing the Exodus staff increased each year.

Since the children entering in 1967 had to travel longer to get to school the researcher wondered if this relationship would affect whether or not they wanted to stay at or transfer from their present school. Thus we examined responses to the following question by the year in which the program was entered and also cross-tabulated it with the length of time it took to get to school: "Would you like to stay here next year or go to a different school?" The response categories were "stay here" and "go to a different school." No relationship was found in either case, suggesting that other reasons for liking or not liking a school would have to be sought.

Continuing the analysis of the school situation by the year of entrance into the program, we then examined the children's responses to a set of questions designed to get at their feelings about their school and the teachers in it. These questions were taken from the research instruments employed in the evaluation study of New York City's School Integration Program (More Effective Schools). There were 17 questions in this series about "MY SCHOOL," and none of these were statistically related to the number of years in the program. Even when grade in school was controlled, no statistically significant relationships emerged between years in the program and any of the items tapping the children's feelings about the school. In Table 6, the proportion of children answering YES! (other response categories were "yes," "no" and "NO!") is presented for each of these items by whether the child attends a lower grade (3 and 4) or a higher grade (5-8).

Table 6. Proportion of Children Responding "YES!" to Each of the Questions About MY SCHOOL by Grade.

	Question	Proportion Responding YES!	
		Grades 3&4	Grades 5-8
1.	The teachers in this school want to help you	54.1	69.4
2.	The teachers in this school expect you to work hard	20.0	42.6
3.	The teachers in this school are really interested in you	33.8	51.9
4.	The teachers in this school know how to explain things clearly	43.5	48.6
5.	The teachers in this school are fair and square	39.4	47.7
6.	The boys and girls in this school fight too much	24.6	25.7
7.	This school has good lunches in the cafeteria	16.4	20.0
8.	This school building is a pleasant place .	33.9	43.0
9.	The principal in this school is friendly .	36.5	50.0
10.	The work at this school is too hard . . .	15.6	11.1

Table 6 (Contd.)

	Question	Proportion Responding YES!	
		Grades 3&4	Grades 5-8
11.	What I am learning will be useful to me	42.6	58.1
12.	The trip to and from school is too long	19.0	20.8
13.	I wish I didn't have to go to school at all	21.3	24.8
14.	This is the best school I know	35.4	30.2
15.	The work at this school is too easy	21.5	15.7
16.	I work hard in school but don't seem to get anywhere	23.1	31.8
17.	I've learned more this year than any earlier year	38.5	44.5

As indicated above, none of the items in Table 6 are related to number of years in the program--a fact which is perhaps a reflection of the fact that the children have, for the most part, been attending the same school throughout the length of their participation in Exodus. In other words, the number of years at a school is quite independent of what transpires at the school. Since this is apparently the case, it is interesting to observe the data presented in Table 6. While a rank order correlation between children in the lower and the upper grades has not been computed, it is obvious that the rank correlation is fairly high. More important, it seems, is the fact that the highest and lowest ranking items are the same for both grade categories. The item receiving the highest proportion of "YES!" responses is "the teachers in this school want to help you," and the item receiving the lowest proportion of "YES!" responses is "the work at this school is too hard." In brief, it seems that the children in the bussing program had strongly favorable attitudes about their schools. (Later on we shall present a comparison between the Exodus and Non Exodus children on some of these items.)

Another question thought to bear on the school situation was one which dealt with whether the child had any white friends. Specifically the question was: "How many of your friends are white?" Responses to this question were not related to the number of years which the child had spent in the program (Table 7).

Table 7. Distribution of Responses (in Percentages) to the Question: "How Many of Your Friends Are White?" by Year Entering the Bussing Program. (N = 215)*

Year Entered Program	How Many of Your Friends Are White?					
	None	A Few	About Half	Most of Them	All of Them	100% =
1967	17.6%	47.1%	14.7%	16.2%	4.4%	68
1966	16.7	29.6	25.9	22.2	5.6	54
1965	19.4	29.0	19.4	25.8	6.5	93

χ^2 = 8.28, 8 df, Not Significant
* 20 cases with no information

As in the case of the children's evaluation of the school and teachers, it is indeed interesting that the number of friendships made with white children is apparently not dependent on length of contact with white children. This, of course, is a question worthy of study; i.e., what factors are related to the number of white friends which a child reports having? (Although this question will not be pursued here, much relevant data bearing on the question is available in the present study and, hopefully, will be analyzed at a later time.)[20]

The children were also asked a series of questions about their classroom and classmates. These items also come from the New York City MES Study. When these items were analyzed by the year in which the children entered the program, again there was an absence of any statistically significant relationships. This lack of relationship between the "My Class" items and year entering the program continues when grade level is controlled. The proportion of children responding "yes" (other response categories were "No" and "Not Sure") to the items about the class are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Proportion of Children Responding "Yes" to Each of The Items About "My Class" by Grade.

Question	Proportion Responding Yes	
	Grades 3&4	Grades 5-8
1. It is very hard to make real friends in this class	30.1	20.1
2. Nearly everyone in this class wants to work hard	69.4	51.8
3. The children in this class are happy and pleased when you do something for them . .	87.5	71.7

Table 8 (Contd.)

	Question	Proportion Responding Yes Grades 3&4	 Grades 5-8
4.	Many children in this class are not fair .	41.4	38.2
5.	We need a better classroom to do our best work	62.0	40.4
6.	Nearly everyone minds his or her own business	51.4	41.7
7.	You can really have a good time in this class	72.9	65.2
8.	One or two children in this class spoil everything	81.7	68.9
9.	Everyone tries to keep the classroom looking nice	75.3	52.6
10.	We don't have a lot of the things we need to do our best work	55.2	36.2
11.	The children in this class are pretty mean	34.7	17.6
12.	A lot of children in this class don't like to do things together	52.9	41.4
13.	Everyone gets a chance to show what he or she can do	68.1	73.9
14.	Nearly everyone in this class is polite .	65.2	55.0
15.	I don't feel as if I belong in this class	56.5	32.6
16.	Most of the children in this class do not want to try anything new	54.3	46.0
17.	Nearly everyone in this class can do a good job if he or she tries	89.7	82.5
18.	A lot of the children look down on others in the class	72.1	44.1
19.	You can trust almost everyone in this class	39.1	33.8
20.	We do a lot of interesting things in this class	79.1	70.7

Again, (as for the "My School" items) the items which had the highest and lowest proportions of affirmative responses were the same for the two grade groupings. These, respectively, were "Nearly everyone in this class can do a good job if he or she tries" and "The children in this class are pretty mean." While it is dismaying to observe that 34.7 per cent of the children in the lower grades feel that their classmates are "pretty mean," it is at least a little reassuring that this item received the smallest number of positive responses. It is also a little reassuring that 72.9 per cent of the younger children felt that "you can really have a good time in this class." (As with the "My School" items, it will be interesting to compare Exodus and Non Exodus children on some of these situational items.)

(2) Attitudes of Exodus Children Self-Concept and Fate Control

Coleman and his colleagues[21] found a substantial and direct relationship between self-concept and score on an achievement test for the children in their study. In addition, they found that children's feelings about their ability to make the environment respond to their wishes (fate control) was quite strongly related to achievement test scores--indeed, more strongly related to achievement test scores than any of the attitudes included in their study. With these two attitudes--self-concept and fate control--being so important, then, it would seem that educators and other interested persons would be especially interested in trying to find out how to strengthen these attitudes in children. Thus, were a school integration program found to generate positive self-concept and feelings of being able to influence the environment in black children, then it would seem that such programs ought to be strongly pushed by those interested in equal educational opportunities for all children. In the present study, data was collected on these attitudes and are now presented. The data, collected in 1967, for children entering the program at one of three points in time may be used to ascertain what effect the length of time in the program has on attitudes held by the children. Thus, if the bussing program had the effect of strengthening these attitudes, then one would find that the longer a child remained in the program, the more positive would be his self-concept and the stronger his feeling of being able to make the environment respond to his wishes. Analysis of the data does not support this proposition. (See Table 9 for responses to self-concept questions and Table 10 for responses to the questions about control of environment. The data in these tables apply only to children in grades 5-8.) No relationships were found between self-image and number of years in the program on any of the items measuring self-image. The same can be said for the ~~fact~~ fate control items. (Scale analysis does not alter this conclusion.)

As indicated, the data in Tables 9 and 10 apply only to children in grades five through eight. While it was thought inadvisable to ask the very young children (in grades three and four) about their self-concept, the researcher felt that it was permissable to ask the children a question which purported to assess feelings about control of environment: "Do you think you'll be able to be what you want to be when you grow up?" The responses to this question were found to be unrelated to the length of time the children had spent in the Exodus program (Table 11). This absence of relationship between control of environment and time in the program for the younger children is due in part, perhaps, to the overwhelming optimism voiced by these children. Still, on the whole, (i.e., including the older children) time in the program is found to be unrelated to these two attitudes--perhaps a disconcerting finding to those who believe in bussing. It should be emphasized here, however,

Table 9. Proportion Agreeing With Items Measuring Child's Self-Image by Number of Years in the Exodus Program (Grades 5-8 Only).*

Year Entered Program	"I sometimes feel I just can't learn"		"If I could change I'd be someone different from myself"		"I can do many things well"	
	Proportion Agreeing	100%	Proportion Agreeing	100%	Proportion Agreeing	100%
1967	46.8%	(47)	31.9%	(47)	60.4%	(48)
1966	37.5%	(32)	18.7%	(32)	54.8%	(31)
1965	46.0%	(63)	28.1%	(64)	63.1%	(65)
	$X^2 = 0.80$, 2 df, N.S.		$X^2 = 4.09$, 4 df, N.S.		$X^2 = 0.82$, 4 df, N.S.	

* N's on which proportions are based are in parentheses.

Table 10. Proportion Agreeing With Items Measuring Child's Feeling of Fate Control, by Number of Years in the Exodus Program (Grades 5-8 Only).*

Year Entered Program	"People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life"		"Good luck is more important than hard work for success"		"Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me"	
	Proportion Agreeing	100%	Proportion Agreeing	100%	Proportion Agreeing	100%
1967	31.9%	(47)	25.0%	(44)	34.9%	(43)
1966	15.6%	(32)	38.7%	(31)	32.3%	(31)
1965	21.9%	(64)	29.5%	(61)	32.3%	(62)
	$X^2 = 5.2$, 4 df, N.S.		$X^2 = 2.4$, 4 df, N.S.		$X^2 = 2.9$, 4 df, N.S.	

* N's on which proportions are based are in parentheses.

Table 11. Child's Feeling of Fate Control, by Number of Years in the Exodus Program (Grades 3 and 4 Only).*

Year Entered Program	"Do you think you'll be able to be what you want to be when you grow up?"				
	Yes		No		Total
	N	%	N	%	
1967	20	80.0	5	20.0	25
1966	19	90.5	2	9.5	21
1965	23	88.5	3	11.5	26

$X^2 = 1.23$, 2 df, N.S.

* N = 72 and 12 cases no information

that the atmosphere of the schools attended by these children has not been ascertained and that this--the school atmosphere and feelings about black children--is probably much more important to a child's attitudes than the mere fact of being bussed. Indeed, McPartland, in a re-analysis of some of the data in his study (with Coleman) found this to be the case. Thus the findings presented here should serve to direct researchers to examine the nature of the schools and of the persons involved in school integration programs. This suggestion is underscored by some of the rather "negative" perceptions of the Exodus children with respect to the school situation (presented earlier).

Some notion of the "school's atmosphere," as perceived by the child, may be further discerned from the children's responses to a request to them to indicate how much they thought their classmates liked them on a ten-point rating scale. While it was realized that many of their classmates changed each year, it was still thought possible that the longer a child remained in the bussing program, the more accepted and well-liked he would feel by his classmates. This hunch rests, perhaps, on an unwarranted assumption, viz., that the white classmates would in fact be accepting and that, in time, all the black child had to do was to relax and recognize his acceptance by his classmates. Analysis of the data shows that there is no relationship between length of time in the program and a child's perception of how well his classmates like him (See Table 12). It is quite possible that the black children are reality-oriented and that the assumption that their white classmates are accepting of them is unwarranted. At any rate, feelings of being liked, just as belief about fate control and attitude toward self, appears unrelated to length of time spent in this bussing program and further inquiries into the nature of the black children's reception at and experiences in the program would be required before this lack of relationship can be amply explained.

Table 12. The Children's Perception of How Classmates Rate Them On A Liking Scale, by Number of Years in the Program (N = 235).

Year Entered Program	"Child's perception of his classmates rating of him on a liking scale, by number of years in the program."		
	Best Liked ("1" or "2")	Least Liked ("9" or "10")	100%
1967	18.7%	10.0%	80
1966	39.7	6.9	58
1965	20.6	8.3	97

(3) Reading Achievement of Exodus Children

Elsewhere, (Appendix B), the present author has detailed some of the reservations which he holds about the use of achievement tests in studies purporting to evaluate integration or bussing programs. Many of these studies have ignored the affective and other non-cognitive dimensions of learning and have apparently assumed that the most necessary ingredient in the learning process for black children is that they attend predominantly white schools. The present author's view is that the children's self-image, feeling of fate control, and perceptions of the school situation, having been shown by Coleman and others to be strongly related to achievement test performance, deserve much more attention from educators and social scientists than they have been getting--and indeed, that they deserve the most attention. This is why, in the present case, primary attention has been given to these non-cognitive elements in learning.

At the same time, however, children do need to learn and young children especially need to learn how to read before they can move on to other academic areas. This being the case, we decided to administer the appropriate Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test to children in Exodus and to assess how well they read. Some results of this test-taking are presented below in Table 13. The proportions of low scores (stanines one through three) and of high scores are given by the year in which the child entered the program.

Table 13. Proportion of Low Scores (Stanines 1-3) on Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test by Year Entered Exodus Program, All Grades (N = 233).

Year Entered Program	Proportion of Low Scores (Stanines 1-3)	Proportion of High Scores (Stanines 6-9)	100%
1967	48.7%	10.0%	80
1966	27.6	13.8	58
1965	31.6	9.5	95

$X^2 = 8.24$, 2 df, $P < 05$

While analysis of this relationship shows the existence of a statistically significant relationship, the relationship is accounted for by the presence of a high proportion of low scores for the 1967 entrants. There is practically no difference (on stanines) when those entering in 1966 are compared with those entering in 1965. Furthermore, the proportion of high scores are similarly low for each group of the yearly entrants. Since the test was given in the fall of 1967 and the new entrants for that year had only been in the program for a few weeks, the scores for that year may be reflecting the selection process, i.e., perhaps by that year Exodus was attracting children from less stable families (see Table 4) or children who had been having more prior school difficulties than were children entered in the program in earlier years. It is also possible, of course, that the children from earlier years had fewer low scores because the program had indeed made a difference. The fact that the children who had been in the program only one year had better (if only slightly so) scores than those who had been in the program for two years at the time of this testing argues against the attribution of the difference to the effects of the program. At any rate, it is the present author's contention that (1) it takes longer than a year or two to produce sizeable improvement in a low-scoring child's performance, and (2) other factors, such as the school context, the home, and the child's self-concept should be closely examined before any conclusions are drawn about the effects of bussing.

C. Comparison of Exodus and Non Exodus Children on Baseline Situations, Attitudes, and Perceptions

It was indicated earlier that a comparison of Exodus and Non Exodus children on 1967 data would be of value both in the establishment of baselines from which later change analysis could be made and in locating problems or areas for research which should be undertaken even though such problems could not be analyzed with present data. A perusal of some of the school situation data for Exodus and Non Exodus children is especially suggestive with respect to pointing to other research problems.

When Exodus and Non Exodus children are compared on the "My School" items (Table 14) it is seen that the Non Exodus children, in general, have more positive views about the teachers (items 1 and 3), the principal (item 9), and the school (e.g., item 14).

Table 14. Proportion of Exodus and Non Exodus Children Responding "YES!" to Each of the Questions About MY SCHOOL.

Question	Proportion Responding YES!	
	Exodus (N=235)*	Non Exodus (N=37)*
1. The teachers in this school want to help you	48.9	62.2
2. The teachers in this school expect you to work too hard . .	26.0	37.8
3. The teachers in this school are really interested in you	32.8	40.5
4. The teachers in this school know how to explain things clearly	35.3	37.8
5. The teachers in this school are fair and square	33.2	35.1

Table 14 (Contd.)

Question	Proportion Responding YES! Exodus (N=235)*	Non Exodus (N=37)*
6. The boys and girls in this school fight too much	19.6	29.7
7. This school has good lunches in the cafeteria	12.3	18.9
8. This school building is a pleasant place	28.5	37.8
9. The principal in this school is friendly	32.3	48.6
10. The work at this school is too hard	9.4	2.7
11. What I am learning will be useful to me	37.4	56.8
12. The trip to and from school is too long	14.5	8.1
13. I wish I didn't have to go to school at all	16.6	18.9
14. This is the best school I know	23.4	37.8
15. The work at this school is too easy	13.2	5.4
16. I work hard in school but don't seem to get anywhere	20.8	10.8
17. I've learned more this year than any earlier year	31.5	40.5

*Totals on which percentages based include non-respondents

However when the children are compared on the "My Class" items (Table 15) it is hard to say which group possesses the more positive views. More specifically, the Exodus children are more likely to feel that they "belong" (item 15), that the children in class do things together (item 12) and that their classmates are not mean (item 11). On the other hand, the Non Exodus children are more likely to feel that they can trust their classmates (item 19) and that they can have a good time in class (item 7).

On the basis of these tables (14 and 15) it would seem that much more needs to be known about a child's school situation before the effects of teachers, principals, and classmates on the development (cognitive and affective) of children (like those in this study) can be plausibly explained. Also on the basis of these tables, however, it seems that the Non Exodus children hold more positive views about their teachers and principals.

Table 15. Proportion of Exodus and Non Exodus Children Responding "Yes" to Each of the Items About MY CLASS.

Question	Proportion Responding Yes	
	Exodus (N=235)*	Non Exodus (N=37)*
1. It is very hard to make real friends in this class	21.7	21.6
2. Nearly everyone in this class wants to work hard	52.8	56.8
3. The children in this class are happy and pleased when you do something for them	69.4	75.7
4. Many children in this class are not fair	34.9	35.1
5. We need a better classroom to do our best work	42.5	27.0
6. Nearly everyone minds his or her own business	38.7	37.8
7. You can really have a good time in this class	58.3	70.3
8. One or two children in this class spoil everything	65.1	73.0
9. Everyone tries to keep the classroom looking nice	53.6	56.8
10. We don't have a lot of the things we need to do our best work	35.7	40.5
11. The children in this class are pretty mean	21.3	32.4
12. A lot of children in this class don't like to do things together	39.2	51.3
13. Everyone gets a chance to show what he or she can do	63.0	59.5
14. Nearly everyone in this class is polite	51.9	51.3
15. I don't feel as if I belong in this class	36.2	46.0
16. Most of the children in this class do not want to try anything new	43.8	51.3
17. Nearly everyone in this class can do a good job if he or she tries	74.5	83.8
18. A lot of the children look down on others in the class	46.4	46.0
19. You can trust almost everyone in this class	30.2	51.3
20. We do a lot of interesting things in this class	65.1	67.6

*Totals on which percentages based include non-respondents

Other comparisons between Exodus and Non Exodus children are presented below for the "self-image," "fate control," "classmate's liking," and aspiration factors. These comparisons permit testing of the "first phase hypothesis" which were stated on page 11 of this report.

The comparison of the children on the self-image items are presented in Table 16. It should be recalled at this point that it was hypothesized that the Exodus children would have more positive self-images than would Non Exodus children. Such was not the case at the time these data were collected in 1967. Having already shown that no difference was made by the number of years the Exodus children had been in the program (Table 9), one may assume that whatever is going on at the particular schools to which the Exodus children are bussed, in general, it is not enhancing the children's self-image as measured by these items. Indeed, although no statistically significant differences were found on the self-image items, there was in each case a tendency for the Non Exodus children to have more positive self-images. This conclusion is not altered one iota if the data on Exodus children are restricted to those entering in 1967 (Table 9), an important consideration since the data on the Non Exodus children was collected in 1967.

Table 16. Proportion of Exodus and Non Exodus Children Agree With Items Measuring Child's Self-Image (Grades 5-8 Only)

	"I sometimes feel I just can't learn"		"If I could change I'd be someone different from myself"		"I can do many things well"	
	Proportion Agreeing	100%=	Proportion Agreeing	100%=	Proportion Agreeing	100%=
Exodus	44.4%	(142)	27.1%	(144)	60.4%	(144)
Non Exodus	31.6%	(19)	10.5%	(19)	65.0%	(20)
	X^2 = .55, 1 df, N.S.		X^2 = 2.41, 1 df, N.S.		N.S.	

It was also hypothesized that Exodus children would be more likely than Non Exodus children to feel that they could control their own fate. Again the hypothesis was not supported: no statistically significant differences were found on the items which purport to measure fate control for children in either the upper or lower grades[22] (Tables 17 and 18). The immediate implication of such findings is that the schools need to pursue changes which would permit equal opportunities for blacks if the self-images and feelings about controlling their fate are to grow among black children. However, perhaps it is unrealistic to expect schools to change if other areas of the society do not also reflect such changes. At any rate, there is apparently little difference in the outlooks of

Table 17. Proportion of Exodus and Non Exodus Children With Items Measuring Child's Feeling of Fate Control (Grades 5-8)

	"People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life"		"Good luck is more important than hard work for success"		"Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me"	
	Proportion Agreeing	100%=	Proportion Agreeing	100%=	Proportion Agreeing	100%=
Exodus	23.8%	(143)	30.1%	(136)	33.1%	(136)
Non Exodus	16.6%	(18)	27.8%	(18)	38.9%	(18)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	

Table 18. Child's Feeling of Fate Control, for Exodus and Non Exodus Children (Grades 3 and 4)

	"Do you think you'll be able to be what you want to be when you grow up?"	
	Proportion Responding "Yes"	100%=
Exodus	86.1%	(72)
Non Exodus	82.0%	(17)
	N.S.	

Exodus and Non Exodus children, a matter which may reflect either the character of their schools or of non-school factors or some combination of the two. One trend in these data which bears scrutiny is that the children in the higher grades (Table 17) seem to be more pessimistic than the children in the lower grades (Table 18). This tendency takes on some significance since many researchers have noted that the grade reading levels for black children lag further and further behind grade attended as the children advance in school.

Another first phase hypothesis was concerned with the aspiration levels of Exodus and Non Exodus children, the writer's hunch being that the former group would have higher job aspirations. Although a table is not presented for this material, no differences were found between the children on examination of the data. Thus, among the Exodus and Non Exodus boys, 19 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively, stated that they wished to hold "professional" jobs when they finished school. For the Exodus and Non Exodus girls, the proportions wishing to become "teachers" (the category receiving the highest number of responses) are 20 per cent and 26 per cent, respectively. Similar levels of aspirations, then, marked children in both groups.

The final attitudinal factor on which the Exodus and Non Exodus children are compared has to do with the child's perception of how his classmates rate him on a liking scale. In a comparison of the proportions rating themselves at the "best liked" end of the 10 point scale (categories "1" and "2"), the Non Exodus children were more likely than Exodus children to rate themselves as best liked: 37 per cent to 25 per cent. This difference is not a large one, but it causes one to wonder if the difference would grow or decrease over time and as the Exodus children got to know their classmates and vice versa.

With respect to comparisons on achievement test results for Exodus and Non Exodus children, again there was little difference between the two groups. A comparison on proportion of low scorers (stanines 1-3) shows that 36 per cent of the Exodus and 28 per cent of the Non Exodus children were low scorers at the time of the 1967 test. Achievement test changes will be considered in the next section of this chapter.

D. Changes in Perceived Ratings of Liking by Classmates and in Achievement Scores

In this section the following analyses are presented: (1) Changes in perceptions of classmates liking them among Exodus children by year entered the program and for Non Exodus children, and (2) achievement (reading) score changes for Exodus children by year entered the porgram and for Non Exodus children.

As indicated earlier (p 12), there were 133 Exodus children and 18 Non Exodus children on whom attitudinal and achievement test data were obtained at the two points in time (1967 and 1968). In addition reading test results were obtained for an additional 18 Non Exodus children from the Boston Board of Education for the two points in time.

In assessing changes in the children's perceived ratings of the extent to which their classmates liked them, the perceptions on a 10-point scale at Time 1 were cross-tabulated with their perceptions at Time 2. The results of this analysis are presented in terms of the proportions of children in each comparison group who moved toward perceiving themselves as being better liked and without regard to the extent of the improvement (Table 19).

The data in Table 19 shows little difference among the Exodus children for 1967, 1966 and 1965. In fact, the only difference--and it is small--shows that Exodus children from the 1966 cohort made the least gain on this measure. A comparison of the data for Exodus children in Table 19 with the baseline data for Exodus children in Table 12 suggests that this slightly poorer showing for the 1966

Table 19. Proportion Improving in Perceived Ratings of Classmates Liking of Them for Exodus Children by Year Entered the Program (N=129)* and for Non Exodus Children (N=18).

	Year	Proportion perceiving themselves as better liked by classmates at end of year than at beginning of year (1967-68)	100%=
Exodus	1967	24.1%	29
	1966	15.8	38
	1965	22.6	62
Non Exodus	1967	22.2	18

* Four cases with no information.

Exodus children on improvement in perceived liking may be reflecting regression toward the mean. Table 12 shows that more of the 1966 Exodus children--when compared with 1965 and 1967 children--felt "best liked," and Table 19 shows that it was precisely the 1966 children who showed the least gain.

Similarly, the Exodus-Non Exodus comparison in Table 19 shows no difference in extent of improvement, a situation resembling that for baseline data for these groups (p 36). The earlier ~~table~~ data showed that slightly more of the Non Exodus children felt well-liked by their classmates than of Exodus children though the difference was not statistically significant. In fact, when the baseline data was analyzed in terms of mean ratings there was even less of a difference. Although more intensive analysis of these data are required and will be performed by the author later (such as grouped and matched-pairs analyses of mean changes for initial high and initial low scorers, separately by grade and for boys and girls[23]) it would appear that on the basis of analyses made so far one could conclude that the children being bussed to predominantly white schools do not feel any more alien (or unliked) by other children in class than do the children not being bussed and attending schools in their own neighborhood.

In the assessment of changes in achievement test scores, stanine scores at Time 1 were cross-tabulated with stanine scores for Time 2. These results are also presented in terms of the proportion of children in each comparison group who improved their position between the two points in time.

Focusing on the changes in the 1967-1968 year among the three groups of Exodus children who entered the program in three different years, it is clear that an inverse relationship exists between number of years in the program and the number of children showing

Table 20. Proportion of Children Who Improved Their Stanine Position (Reading Test) From Time 1 (Fall 1967) to Time 2 (Spring 1968) for Exodus Children By Year (N-130)* and for Non Exodus Children (N-18)

		Proportion who improved stanine position (reading test) from Time 1 to Time 2	100%=
Exodus	(1967	46.7%	30
	(1966	34.2	38
	(1965	27.4	62
Non Exodus	1967	11.1	18

* No information in three cases.

improvement (Table 20). The greatest improvement, however, is shown by the 1967 children and when it is recalled that this group of children also showed the largest proportion of low scorers in the baseline data (Table 13) it becomes obvious that this greater improvement may be due to regression toward the mean.

The difference between the 1967 Exodus and the Non Exodus children on achievement improvement is even more substantial (Table 20) however and inspection of baseline data suggests that the greater improvement for the Exodus children is not due to regression toward the mean. Still, more refined analyses of achievement score changes is called for (such as mean changes by grade and for boys and girls separately) and will be undertaken later. Moreover, later analyses will undertake an assessment of factors related to changes in achievement test scores with particular attention to Exodus children. Results so far, however, suggest that Exodus children have shown definite improvement over the Non Exodus children in reading test score changes covering one academic year. There are at least three facts, however, which suggest that great caution govern the interpretation of these findings:

(1) The numbers are small and are even smaller for Non Exodus children.

(2) The Non Exodus children were tested an average of about two months later than Exodus children in the fall-winter of 1967 and had less time in which to show change. (In connection with this fact, it is recalled that achievement test data for the beginning and end of the year were collected on 18 additional Non Exodus children; these data are not employed here however because (a) we did not administer them, and (b) these tests do not cover the same time period as tests for other Non Exodus children.)

(3) There appears to be a regression toward the mean phenomenon for Exodus children on the retest. If further analyses show that regression to the mean is no problem, then it could be the case that the longer children continue in this bussing program, the more they come to resemble the Non Exodus children in academic performance. In other words, maybe there is an initial spurt on first entering the program which then wanes. If so, it would be important to examine possible reasons for the decline.

At any rate, it is clear that analysis of these data must continue and that efforts to assess factors related to any changes should be pursued. Such efforts are, in fact, presently proceeding. They will include an attempt to relate family factors,[24] attitudinal variables, school characteristics and the child's sex and grade to changes in achievement test scores.

Chapter 6. Summary, Conclusions, and Implications.

A. Conclusions.

Some tentative conclusions may be drawn, based on the presented findings. These findings and conclusions are as follows:

(1) No substantial time-related differences were found among Exodus children with respect to: perceptions about their school and classmates, proportion of white friends, self-image, feeling of fate control, and extent of perceived liking by their classmates; nor were there any substantial differences between the Exodus and Non Exodus children on ~~three~~ these of the above variables which were appropriate to the analysis. The tentative conclusions to be drawn from these findings are: (a) the schools attended by Exodus and Non Exodus children are quite similar and quite stable as regards what goes on in them, and (b) the feelings, attitudes, and perceptions of Exodus and Non Exodus children are correspondingly quite similar and fairly stable. Thus, it is suggested, the children are reality-oriented and simply state the reality of their school experience. This suggested similarity and stability of school processes may not be surprising when it is realized that all of the schools attended by the children are in Boston and the teachers as well as the children in Boston have been similarly exposed to Boston's school strife in recent years, strife which was described in the early pages of this report.

(2) Time-related change was found among Exodus children with respect to achievement test scores, the most important instance being that the greatest improvement was shown between testing periods for the most recent entrants into the Exodus bussing program. Assuming that this difference is not due to regression towards the mean, and this is yet to be determined, a tentative conclusion is that those children who have just entered the program are initially enthusiastic about their new opportunity to prove themselves and to justify being in the program. After this initial thrust, however, the new setting is seen (in the children's minds) to resemble the old setting and perhaps the children's desire to do well deteriorates with this recognition.

(3) Improvement in achievement test scores are far greater among Exodus than among Non Exodus children. Regardless of the apparent deterioration over time among Exodus children, each group of Exodus entrants showed more improvement than Non Exodus children over the test period. A tentative conclusion (or explanation) is that, regardless of initial perceptions or self concepts, the Exodus children experience some kind of educational stimulus in the more racially balanced schools and go on to do better work (as indexed by achievement tests).

(4) The final conclusion to be drawn from the data presented here is that further analysis of these data is necessary before firm conclusions about the effectiveness of Operation Exodus can be made. The nature of some of this continuing analysis has been indicated at various places in the report and need not be repeated here.

B. Implications.

It is still a bit early to draw action implications from the evaluation of Operation Exodus. Certainly the results do not argue against the bussing program, that is as far as achievement test scores are concerned. On the other hand, the data hints that the impact of the program--as far as academic performance is concerned--decreases with the length of a child's involvement in it. In spite of calls to continue or discontinue the program, it would seem that the main implication of the findings is that more research needs to be done on the Exodus program. The following types of research seem to be required:

(1) A study of teachers and principals at the Exodus and Non Exodus schools needs to be undertaken, with special attention given to attitudes held by school personnel about the learning potential of black children. This

study should also inquire into the uses which teachers and principles make of achievement test results, a matter studied recently by Goslin.[25]

(2) The present study would also profit from the inclusion of the white classmates of Exodus children. A study of the attitudes of the white children toward the black newcomers may throw much light on both the affective and cognitive responses of black school children in predominantly white schools.

(3) It would also be valuable if further follow-up data were collected on the children studied here. The last data was collected on these children in the spring of 1968; if data could be collected in 1970 it would then be possible to present change data over a three-year period for all of the study variables. While it might be difficult to locate some of the study group, the potential rewards are great enough so as to make the effort worthwhile.

(4) Finally, it is desirable to collect further data on the parents in Exodus to be used in conjunction with the children's data. More important, perhaps, is the continuing study of Operation Exodus as an organization; while this organizational analysis has been initiated (see Appendix C), it would be valuable were a study done of the present direction and goals of the organization and to see if, how, and why these goals may have changed over time. There might be much to learn about the development of community organizations through the continued study of Exodus.

Footnotes

1. See James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander Mood, Frederic Weinfield, and Robert York, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966.

2. Part of this chapter of the report, in revised format, also appears as part of the paper, (Appendix C), "Black Family, Voluntary Association and Educational Bureaucracy," which the author presented at the Meetings of the American Sociological Association, September, 1969, in San Francisco, California.

3. E. Litwak and H. Meyer, "A Balance Theory of Coordination Between Bureaucratic Organizations and Community Primary Groups," Administrative Science Quarterly, June, 1966, pp. 31-58.

4. In defining a racially imbalanced school, the committee wrote "a racially imbalanced school is one in which the racial composition of the school population is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which Negro children study, serve, and work," p. 1.

5. For a further discussion of the problems inherent in the evaluation of bussing programs see James E. Teele and Clara Mayo, "School Racial Integration: Tumult and Shame," Journal of Scoial Issues, Volume 25, (January, 1969), pp. 137-156 (attached as Appendix B of this report).

6. It is ironic that in view of the oft-mentioned difficulty which researchers presumably encounter in attempting to conduct research in the black community these days (1965-68), the most difficulty encountered by the author in his attempts to gather data relevant to the evaluation of Operation Exodus came from the Boston School Board during the early years of the study. Beginning in September, 1967, however, the Boston School Board has cooperated in this study. For a full account of the problems encountered in attempting to conduct this research, see James Teele, Ellen Jackson and Clara Mayo, Family Experiences in Operation Exodus, New York: Behavioral Publications, 1967 (attached as Appendix A of this report).

7. For a systematic review of family characteristics related to school achievement, see James E. Teele, "Sociocultural Factors Related to Mental Retardation," forthcoming in Social Science and Medicine.

8. Irwin Katz, "Some Motivational Determinants of Racial Differences in Intellectual Achievement," International Journal of Psychology, 1967, Volume 2, pp. 1-12.

9. Alan Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspiration of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24, 1959, pp. 836-845.

10. Wilson, op cit.

11. Coleman, et al., pp. 302-312.

12. Katz, op cit.

13. Coleman, et al., op cit, p. 319.

14. Katz, op cit.

15. Teele, Jackson, and Mayo, op cit.

16. Rotter, J.; Seeman, M.; and Liverant, S.: "Internal versus External Control of Reinforcements: A Major Variable in Behavior Theory," in N. F. Washburn (editor), Decisions, Values and Groups, Volume 2, London, Pergamon Press, 1962.

17. Coleman, J. S.; Campbell, E. Q.; Hobson, C.; McPartland, J.; Moode, A.; Weinfield, F.; and York, R.; op cit.

18. For a discussion of the theoretical relationship between parental background factors and children's school performance, see James E. Teele, "Sociocultural Factors Relating to Mild Mental Retardation," forthcoming in Journal of Social Science and Medicine.

19. The children's fall questionnaires are attached as appendixes:
Appendix D - Fall 1967 Questionnaire, Grades 3 and 4
Appendix E - Fall 1967 Questionnaire, Grades 5-8
As indicated before the spring questionnaires are very similar to the fall questionnaires and so are not included in the Appendix. Copies of the spring questionnaire may be secured from the author.

20. It is hoped that several students at The Harvard Graduate School of Education will become interested in further analysis of some of these questions and issues. One of the methodological issues which can be explored with data from the present study is the effect of race of tester and of sex of tester on performance on achievement tests.

21. Coleman, et al., op cit.

22. Fred Holladay, a doctoral candidate at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, is currently exploring the meaning and measures of fate control and self-image for black children.

23. E. Baughman and W. Dahlstrom, for example, performed such analyses in their comparison of I.Q. score changes for black and white children. See their Negro and White Children, New York: Academic Press, 1968, pp. 138-139.

24. William Hall, a doctoral candidate at the Harvard Graduate School of Education has recently begun, under the author's direction, a consideration and analysis of family factors (including parent interview and children's data from the present study) related to self-image and academic performance among black children.

25. See David Goslin, Teachers and Testing, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

Appendix B

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School Racial Integration: Tumult and Shame*

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There have been a variety of recent controversies, both (a) over the issue of bussing school children to obtain quality education for black children in integrated schools and (b) over the results of attempts to evaluate the effects of bussing as a means to school integration and quality education. Often the two issues are not unrelated. Moreover, the motivations of the politicians, educators, social scientists, school board members and others with vested interests who are engaged in these controversies, while often quite clear, are at other times concealed behind a jungle of rationalizations.

We shall discuss, in a general way, some of the issues and controversies pertaining to school integration. In addition, we shall focus on the bussing program in Boston, Massachusetts, known as Operation Exodus. We shall describe how a number of the controversies have been experienced in Boston, largely as a result of Operation Exodus. Finally, we shall summarize issues inherent in evaluation research on bussing programs.

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The Supreme Court Decision of 1954

Modern day supporters and opponents of school integration point to the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 as the crucial *historic* and triggering event in developments leading to the present controversy over the rightness or wrongness of integration. Both sides do the Supreme Court a disservice. It makes far more sense to consider—as far as the United States is concerned—the full history of racism in the country as the background of the present controversy. Although we will not delve into this history in the present paper, no one can fully understand the present issues without a real knowledge of the experiences which black Americans have had in the United States. All we wish to state here is that slavery in America was unique in that it came to be rationalized and justified by whites on grounds of race, i.e., that Africans were barbaric, heathen, child-like and of inferior mental ability because they were black. The rationalizations became certified as truth through a conspiracy (in fact, if not in motivation) involving the major institutions of government, religion, finance and education. The conspiracy has ruled from the earliest colonial days to the present and is only now beginning to alter its character. What this conspiracy has done is to erect American faith in white supremacy, a faith which was re-affirmed after the Civil War by the Plessy-Ferguson Supreme Court Decision holding to the doctrine of "separate but equal". The failure of American whites to see, or, if seen, to acknowledge, that the decision was an assertion of white supremacy is itself the essence of racism.

The Supreme Court Decision of 1954 was only one of a series of decisions intended to begin to correct some of the immense historical and contemporary wrongs perpetuated against blacks in the name of Christianity and democracy. Since the 1954 decision, however, massive resistance has appeared in this country against school integration and it has assumed many forms, both in the North and in the South.

The issues, then, which are considered in this paper, should be viewed against this background of the complicity of many American institutions and citizens in the attitude and expression of racism.

ISSUE I: Should Children be Bussed as a Means of Achieving School Integration?

The first general issue, stated in our opening paragraph, is that of bussing to achieve school integration. Obviously, if neighborhoods were integrated—north and south—and if communities adhered generally to a policy of sending children to neighborhood schools, there would be no need to bus children in order to achieve school integration. However, a host of factors have operated over time to ensure racial separation in housing. The collusion of real estate dealers, politicians and citizens has resulted in the central sections of cities becoming blacker and the suburban areas becoming whiter. Thus, many black parents and civil rights leaders reasoned that school bussing as a means of school integration was the most direct route to having their children receive the quality education needed for competing in a predominantly white society.

For several years, beginning around 1964, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks of Boston was the acknowledged leader of many who were opposed to bussing as a means of integrating schools. Indeed, Mrs. Hicks, running on a "Save the Neighborhood School" platform, almost became the mayor of Boston. It was soon obvious to black parents in Boston that the Boston School Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hicks, was not going to further school racial integration in spite of the by then widely-held position that school segregation was harmful to black children.

Since 1965, parents and educators in New York, Cleveland, Oakland, Chicago, and other cities have bitterly opposed school bussing as a means for achieving school integration. In these cities, attempts at neighborhood integration through fair housing legislation or voluntary, non-discriminatory sales of homes have been even more bitterly resisted. Consequently, the need for bussing some children, if school integration was to take place, had seemed evident.

The Opposition of Some Powerful White Leaders . . .

Although the federal government—especially through the U.S. Office of Education—has, at times, strongly sought to promote school integration, the long battle has had a sobering effect on black people who have witnessed the apparent failure of the U.S. government to make a lasting impression on local politicians and school administrators. Moreover, in recent months, powerful leaders like Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and President Richard Nixon, while Republican candidate for President, have retreated from an advocacy of school integration. With so many white officials and white parents implicitly or explicitly opposed to school integration, is it any wonder that blacks would begin to question the advisability of school integration? Indeed, without even considering the issue of the effects of integration on black children, black people have to wonder if integration is worth the struggle and if it can benefit their children when so many whites oppose it.

The more specific controversies that have arisen over school integration include the following:

. . . That quality education can only occur in integrated schools; black children must attend schools with white children in order to learn.

. . . That it was unfair to place black children in situations where they might encounter prejudice.

. . . That it might be proper to bus older children but not younger children (from the first 3 or 4 grades).

Some Findings Relating to the General Issue of School Integration: Boston's Operation Exodus

In this section, we present some findings relevant to the controversies over school integration. The data comes from interviews with black ghetto parents sending their children to predominantly white schools in Boston under Boston's passive means (where the city does nothing) of integration—open enrollment. These black parents formed the association known as Operation Exodus and send their children on busses paid for by the parents themselves.

Operation Exodus was formed in early September 1965 and began its bussing program at that time. A research project, under the direction of the senior author, was initiated in 1965 and is still continuing. Children in grades kindergarten through eight were participating in the program. Interviews were held during the 1965–1966 year with mothers of children in grades 1–6. There were 126 families with children in one of the first six grades and 82 per cent or 103 of the mothers were interviewed. During the second year (1966–1967) of the project, children from 92 new families were added to the program and, of these 92 families, 85 per cent (78) of the new mothers were interviewed. In addition, a random selection of approximately 25 per cent of the mothers interviewed during the first year were re-interviewed during the second year. (Funds did not permit a re-interview with all first year enrollees during the second year.) Because of the uniqueness and continuity of Operation Exodus and because of its importance as a service to the black community, it is a valuable focus for longitudinal research. Thus, data will also be collected during the fourth year (1968–1969) of the program, now in progress. For a fuller description of the background to the program and of the research going on see Teele, Jackson, and Mayo (1967) and Teele (1967).

In the First Year of the Study . . .

During the first year of the study, the researchers were interested in documenting the motivations which the parents had for bussing their children. We wondered—in view of the controversy over bussing, within both the black and white communities —how they managed to gain the courage to send their young children on busses to schools in largely white neighborhoods of Boston. The argument offered by many parents of both races and by a majority of Boston School Committee members in 1965 was that it was not fair to send young black children to strange schools in strange neighborhoods. Our informal discussions with leaders of Operation Exodus and with other black community leaders of 1965 revealed that many of them too were concerned about the potential dangers in bussing the black children to white neighborhoods. However, the parent's concern and consternation over the inferior and destructive educational experiences that their children were receiving in the ghetto schools along with the refusal of school authorities to do anything about the situation overrode the fear of bussing young children. This group of concerned parents decided to bus their children to schools outside of the ghetto.

Quality Education and/or Integrated Education?

During the conduct of our systematic structured interviews, we asked the mothers of first enrollees, in both the 1965–1966 and 1966–1967 school years, the open-ended question: "Why did you bus your child(ren)"? We reported in an earlier publication that an overwhelming majority of first year respondents (86 per cent) indicated that they were motivated only by the desire for a better educational opportunity for their children. A similar proportion of the second year first enrollees indicated that the same reasoning was also responsible for their participation in the bussing program. The frequency distribution of responses to this question is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY FIRST ENROLLEES TO THE QUESTION: "WHY ARE YOU BUSSING YOUR CHILD"? (OPEN-ENDED)

	1965 First Enrollees		1966 First Enrollees	
Response Categories	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
To obtain a quality education only	89	86.0	70	89.0
To obtain a quality education and to attend an integrated school	7	7.0	2	3.0
To attend an integrated school only	—	—	—	—
No response	7	7.0	6	8.0
Total	103	100.0	78	100.0

In the Second Year of the Study . . .

During the second year, we added a new and related question to clarify the thinking underlying this motivation. We asked respondents: "To what extent (not at all, a little, some, or a lot) did the following reasons enter into your decision to bus your child(ren) in Exodus:

(a) I wanted my child(ren) to attend an integrated school;

(b) I wanted my child(ren) to obtain the best education". Responses to this question for first enrollees in 1966–1967 are presented in Table 2.

It is evident from the questions asked and from the responses given, that the parents show an extremely strong and nearly unanimous motivation: the desire for their children to obtain a quality education. In Table 1, the responses to the open-ended question show that none of the parents volunteered the idea that they were bussing their children solely in order that they might attend an integrated school, and only 7% in 1965 and 3% of first

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY FIRST ENROLLEES IN 1966–1967 TO THE QUESTION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH EDUCATIONAL AND INTEGRATION AIMS INFLUENCED PARTICIPATION:

	Extent of Influence										
	Not at All		A Little		Some		A Lot		No Response		Total
Aims	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N
Integration	15	19.2	12	15.4	13	16.7	24	30.8	14	17.9	78
Quality education	—	—	—	—	—	—	75	96.2	3	3.8	78

enrollees in 1966 mentioned this motive at all. When we presented the respondents with a structured question (during the 1966–1967 year) designed to ascertain *how much* the desire for a quality education influenced the decision to send the child to a predominantly white school, *all* of the parents who responded stated that they were influenced "a lot", as is indicated in Table 2. Thus, first enrollees in each year, regardless of the format of the question indicate that they are primarily seeking a quality education for their children. A similar distribution (as in Tables 1 and 2) was found for our sample of 27 second year Exodus parents, although no tables are presented for them.

Table 2 also shows the distribution of responses (for 1966–1967 first enrollees) to the structured question of *how much* the desire to send the child to an integrated school influenced the decision to participate. The responses to this question show the importance of the structured question in probing the issue of motivation to bus children. If the responses to the question of motivation shown in line 2 of Table 2 confirm the fact that the parents agree that they are primarily interested in a quality education for their children, the distribution shown on line 1 of Table 2 suggests that the parents are not at all in agreement as to the desirability of sending their children to predominantly white schools. Indeed, while only 31% of the parents said they were influenced "a lot" by the desire to send their child to an integrated school, still fewer (19%) indicated that they were "not at all" influenced by this consideration. Still, the distribution of responses to this issue of integration suggested that a majority of the first enrollees were not too interested in school integration per se. Since we had entertained the notion that this might be the case, we had also asked the following question of all 1966–1967 respondents: "If the School Board could build a quality school in Roxbury, would you prefer your child to go to it"? Responses to this question are presented in Table 3 both for the old and the first enrollees of the 1966–1967 school year.

TABLE 3
"YES" AND "NO" RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: IF THE SCHOOL BOARD COULD BUILD A QUALITY SCHOOL IN ROXBURY WOULD YOU PREFER YOUR CHILD TO GO TO IT?

Responses	1966–1967 Old Enrollees N	Per Cent	1966–1967 First Enrollees N	Per Cent
Yes	23	85.2	52	66.7
No	3	11.1	24	30.8
No Response	1	3.7	2	2.5
Total	27	100.0	78	100.0

The Response of First Enrollees . . .

The response of the 1966–1967 first enrollees to this question show a quite strong consistency with the responses of first enrollees to the question on integration which were shown in Table 2. More specifically, while 30.8 per cent of first enrollees indicated that they were influenced "a lot" by the desire to enroll their children in integrated schools (Table 2), 30.8 per cent of the first enrollees also said that they would not prefer to send their child to a quality school in Roxbury (Table 3). The most important thing about Table 3, however, is that it suggests a possible shift by Roxbury Afro-American parents *away* from an interest in school integration after having had their children in integrated schools for one year. Thus, whereas 67% of the first year parents expressed a preference for sending their children to a quality school in their own neighborhood, a larger proportion (85%) of the parents returning for a second year in the Operation Exodus Bussing Program expressed a preference in sending their child to a quality school in the neighborhood. How do we explain the data in Table 3? We suggest that parental disillusionment with the Boston school system, as it is presently operated, is responsible for the apparently increasing interest by black parents in having their children attend quality schools in Roxbury. It is, perhaps, a reaction to a year of unduly strong sacrifice which did not succeed in moving the Boston school system one iota from its position of uncompromising resistance to the goal of a fair school racial balance. Or, perhaps, it is a reaction to a year of repeated frustration in attempting to find a Boston school which offered their children a quality educational opportunity.

Quality Education and Voice in School Administration

Whatever the interpretation of the apparent shift, it is quite clear from the data that a large majority of the new parents in Operation Exodus never wanted to send their children to schools outside of the neighborhood in the first place, but did so because they were looking for educational opportunities for them. Perhaps as they began to see what problems the predominantly white schools presented to their children, those black parents who were supporters of integrated schools began to yearn also for a quality education for their children *within* the black community.

Thus, although the Exodus parents have kept their children in attendance at predominantly white schools, many of them are also strongly involved in coordinated efforts to gain some voice in the administration of the schools in the black community. When and if the black people in Roxbury gain a measure of control over their schools, many of them will probably remove their children from nearly all-white schools outside of Roxbury since few of them have ever believed that black children had to attend schools with white children in order to learn. What they are saying is that black children can learn in schools situated in climates conducive to learning and appropriate to the needs of the children. We shall have more to say about school climates later on in this paper.

Another indication of the growing interest of the Exodus parents in the education of their children, and in the control of their neighborhood schools is possible from other data bearing on these matters. For all first enrollees in each of the first two years of the program we asked whether they would be willing to participate in any of the following activities on behalf of Operation Exodus: fundraising, organizing youth recreation programs, making speeches, organizing a Roxbury community school and assisting in the Exodus tutorial program. The proportions of respondents willing to participate in these activities are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN OPERATION EXODUS ACTIVITIES*

Activities	1965–1966 First Enrollees Per Cent of Respondents	1966–1967 First Enrollees Per Cent of Respondents
Fund raising	45.7	66.7
Youth recreation	19.1	39.7
Speakers Bureau	6.7	14.1
Community school	23.8	34.6
Tutorial program	9.5	41.0

*Percentages do not add up to 100.0 as N of responses is greater than N of respondents. (N of respondents in 1965–1966 = 103; N of respondents in 1966–1967 = 78.)

The data show that, for each activity, there is a substantially greater willingness to participate by the first enrollees from the second year. This reflects in part, we think, an increasing sensitivity by the community's residents to the educational needs of its children. We also think these data are consistent with the earlier data, presented in this paper, which show quite high interest in a quality education. Finally, it would seem that the data presented so far, support the notion, apparent from news media accounts, that black people are rejecting anything that smacks of paternalism.

Prejudice Encountered by Black Children in Integrated Schools

The second controversy has to do with whether or not black children should be placed in situations where they might encounter prejudice. White and black alike have apparently worried over this issue. In our earlier publication (for 1965–1966 first enrollees) we presented data showing that "only" 24 per cent of the mothers felt that their children in Exodus had encountered either "some" or "a lot" of prejudice at the integrated school while the rest indicated that their children had encountered "little" or "none".

A Slight Decrease in Prejudice Encountered

Data collected during the second year of the Exodus program are somewhat consistent with findings from the first year, and indeed, show a slight decrease in the amount of "some" or "a lot" of prejudice encountered by new or returning black students. Still, among the sample of 27 returning parents, about one-fifth of them indicate that their child reported to them that he faces "some" or "a lot" of prejudice or discrimination at the new school. Among the new enrollees in 1966–1967 about one-sixth of the parents said their children made such a report.

Measured against 100 per cent, 20 per cent seems rather small. But measured against the ideal of zero per cent, it seems large indeed. Thus, it is not possible to say that the problems of prejudice and discrimination faced by Exodus children are small, especially since, in 1966–1967, we ascertained neither the specific nature of the expressed prejudice or discrimination nor whether it involved students, teachers, or principals. If the prejudice or discrimination were continuing and serious, and if enough of the mothers of children who encountered prejudice passed this information along to other parents in Exodus, this could indeed be influential in shifting the group more strongly to a position which espouses community control of schools *instead* of integration, as opposed to a stance which permits both efforts to be made. Indeed, our data, collected in each of the two years, argues for this interpretation, since in spite of finding an inverse relationship between the amount of prejudice reported by the child and the parent's interest in school integration, we also found a decrease in the proportion of children reporting facing prejudice and an increasingly positive attitude toward sending one's child to a quality school in the black community. It would seem that black parents are deeply affected by reports of prejudice against black children and that the positive self-image which black people are building for themselves will not permit them to pursue quality education in integrated schools at the price of their children's well-being. In the days to come, it is apparent that whites with an interest in school integration will have to work to reduce the danger of future acts of prejudice and discrimination against black children in their schools if school integration is to succeed.

Bussing of Children in First Three Grades

As mentioned earlier, one of the issues of paramount concern to Exodus leaders and parents, as well as to state educational leaders, had to do with the advisability of bussing the first three graders. This issue presumes, of course, that discussants or parties to it agree that some form of bussing is appropriate. For our earlier report, we analyzed the relationship between prejudice reported and the grade level of the children. We found a substantial and direct relationship between reports of prejudice encountered and grade level; that is, the higher the grade, the more prejudice the children reported facing. Moreover, James Coleman and his associates (1966) found that the earlier the grade at which black children began attending predominantly white classes, the higher they scored on reading and mathematical achievement tests. Thus it was ironic, later on, to hear leading politicians of Boston recently take a strong stand against bussing the children who apparently encountered the least difficulty in school integration settings: the first four graders. The political leaders, then, are apparently opposed to bussing young children while the relevant research suggests that it is precisely the young who should be the first to be sent to integrated schools. Moreover, when first enrollee parents in both 1965–1966 and 1966–1967 were asked "How do you feel about bussing children in the first three grades"? 91 per cent and 90 per cent, respectively, reported that they were in favor of bussing the first three graders. Why, then, do the political leaders oppose sending the young to integrated schools when the results of research suggest that the young should attend integrated schools? Refusal to bus the younger children assures that the racial stereotyping and feelings of racial superiority, which most white children learn in their early years, will, by not being challenged during the early years, become second nature to white children and withstand later challenges.

The political position, moreover, which rejects bussing of the young, is likely also to be one which refuses to include a fair representation of black history in its curriculum. Thus, in spite of their initiation of a school racial integration program, the black parents in Operation Exodus are aware of the various resistances encountered in their desire to obtain a quality education for their children, an education which includes a fair amount of black history. Therefore, it should be no surprise to anyone that the conclusion to be drawn from data presented here is that the black community is becoming more eager to control the schools in its neighborhood.

ISSUE II: What are the Effects of School Integration?

Social scientists involved in the important Brown decision (1954 Supreme Court case) which held "racially separate schools to be inherently unequal" have made a strong case charging that school segregation damages the black child's heart and mind. A long unquestioned corollary, of course, is that school integration per se would be helpful to black children. It is not surprising then, that an achievement-oriented nation should expect to see improved school performance among black children as a result of school integration. What is surprising is that it would expect—even demand—to see improved academic performance within one or two years after black children have started attending integrated schools. Without really a second thought, many whites have generally assumed that all one needed to do to "improve" the black child's academic performance was to send him to an integrated school. Other more knowledgeable whites have generally held that family and neighborhood "background" characteristics were largely responsible for the slower learning of black children. Other factors which affect learning have scarcely been considered by more than a handful of educators and social scientists. Thus, with strong support from most educators and social scientists, the American people have slipped easily into the position—apparent to blacks, but not to whites—of placing under great stress those few black children attending integrated schools by *demanding quick positive results* in academic performance and achievement. In the last two years, for example, a number of social scientists have "evaluated" or commented on the educational effects of school integration programs which in no case had been in operation more than three years at the time of "evaluation". New York (Fox, 1967), White Plains (White Plains Board of Education, 1967), Boston (Archibald, 1967) and Hartford (Mahan, 1967) have some of the better known school integration programs which have received wide comment with respect to their outcomes. In each case, the commentaries or reports focused primarily on changes (or lack of changes) in achievement test scores. The massive Coleman Report—a nationwide survey—has probably encouraged also such evaluation. Exceptions to this emphasis on achievement tests are found for Syracuse (Willie and Beker, 1967) and for Boston (Teele, Jackson and Mayo, 1967).

The Factors of Quality Education and Integration

As we have attempted to show in the data presented on Operation Exodus, the factors of quality education and integrated education are both operating. Evaluation studies which merely juxtapose a black child's attendance in a white school with his achievement test scores tell us woefully little about how any changes found might have come about. When the researcher confines himself to measuring academic changes from a bussing program, he leaves many factors uncontrolled and cannot specify the process by which the program accomplishes or fails to accomplish its goals. With respect to the criterion variable to be used in a fair evaluation of school integration, it can and should be argued that achievement test scores are inadequate as the sole criterion of the success or failure of bussing programs. Changes in the attitudes of black and white parents, teachers and children would seem to be at least as worthy of study as achievement score changes. This is especially true for those researchers who are primarily interested in the integration aspect of the bussing programs. For those who view bussing primarily as a means to quality education, the effects on the child's learning are likely to be preeminent as a criterion. The use of an achievement criterion is the practice in virtually all known evaluations to the authors. As long as the variables of quality education and integrated education are inseparable in bussing programs, it behooves the effective evaluation researcher to direct himself broadly and with minimal bias to the identification of the mediating variables that intervene between the mere fact of bussing and changes in achievement scores.

An honest effort at evaluation should include at least some of the following, too often unexamined factors:

. . . Family characteristics (socioeconomic status, attitudes toward education, aspirations for the children, education of parents, attitude toward control of environment, etc.).

. . . The children's attitudes (toward education, toward control of environment, toward self, toward children of different racial groups, etc.).

. . . The test situation (nature of the tests used, the race of the tester, the context of the testing, etc.).

. . . The climate of the school (the attitude of principals and teachers toward members of the black community and toward the learning ability of black children).

. . . Curriculum content (whether strong efforts have been made to provide in the curriculum an adequate and frank account of black history and of black achievements).

. . . The political climate (i.e., whether or not politicians and school board leaders engaged in school integration voluntarily).

. . . Local community influence in the educational process.

A more detailed discussion of some of these factors shows what researchers need to take into account when they evaluate achievement test scores of black children who are bussed to predominantly white schools, a necessarily limited test of school integration since white students are rarely bussed to predominantly black schools. This one-sided nature of bussing programs is yet another reflection of the commingling of quality and integrated education that a history of racism has perpetuated into the present.

Family Characteristics and Children's Attitudes

Coleman and his associates (1966) found that family background was strongly related to achievement test scores. They found that 14 and 16 per cent of the variance in verbal achievement for sixth grade black students and white students, respectively, were accounted for by family background factors. Indeed, they found the influence of this variable to be exceeded only by the student's own attitudes toward their life chances.

Katz (1968), Wylie and Hutchins (1967) and McClelland (1961) also have conducted research on or theorized about the relationship between family background and academic achievement. McClelland suggests that early mastery training promotes high need for achievement, but only when it does not signify generalized restrictiveness, authoritarianism or rejection. Thus, if a boy is encouraged to make decisions for himself, this could indicate either that the parents are helping him to become self-reliant or that they are allowing him to fend for himself. If it is the latter and the child has to fend for himself, the result is likely to be low mastery motives and low need for achievement. Katz, on the basis of his study of achievement motivation and academic ability among segregated black students, suggests that a history of high parental levels of aspiration but low reinforcement for instrumental achievement behavior and negative reinforcement for failure is characteristic of lower class, low achieving children. However, Wylie and Hutchins, with IQ controlled, reported positive correlations between socioeconomic status and self-estimates of ability, school achievement, scholastic and career aspirations, and perceived parental and peer encouragement for academic achievement. Their extensive questionnaire study of 4,245 seven- to twelve-year-olds suggests that black children, regardless of academic ability, have aspirations equal to or greater than those of white children, and perceive themselves as having as much or more encouragement to pursue them from parents and peers. Obviously, Katz and Wylie and Hutchins are in some disagreement and more needs to be known about the effect of family background factors on academic performance.

The Coleman Findings . . .

It is in the light of these findings and hunches that one of Coleman's most striking findings should be considered. This was the finding that the child's sense of control over his own fate was directly and strongly related to his achievement scores. The sense of fate control accounted for about three times as much variance in the test scores of blacks as of whites and for blacks was the most important of all the attitudes studied. Coleman clearly states that this relationship does not imply the causal sequence and, in fact, that it may be two-directional. Still, Coleman and his associates did make an attempt to explain their findings. They included the fact that achievement by white students, in contrast to the case for blacks, was more closely related to self-concept than to control of environment. In the words of the Coleman report, "For children from advantaged groups, achievement or lack of it appears closely related to their self-concept: what they believe about themselves. For children from disadvantaged groups, achievement or lack of achievement appears closely related to whether they believe the environment will respond to reasonable efforts, or whether they believe it is instead merely random or immovable". Clearly, then, both parental characteristics and children's attitudes should be taken into account by those conducting studies of the academic effects of school integration.

The Test Situation

Achievement tests are often treated as though they all measured the same thing, an assumption unwarranted in evaluating the success of a school bussing program. In the Coleman study (1966), a measure of verbal ability was used as the sole achievement criterion and it is with respect to this criterion that the reported correlations must be considered. In contrast to the Coleman report, a study by Shaycroft (cited in Dyer, 1968) used criteria more closely tied to curriculum content and found sizable differences among schools in their effects on achievement. The further a criterion measure departs from what is purportedly taught in the classroom, the more factors outside the school can be expected to affect scores and the more it is a black child's total life experience rather than his presence in a predominantly white school that is being evaluated. It may indeed be that such global effects are expected of a bussing program but this expectation should be explicit in the selection of a criterion test.

The Race of the Tester . . .

There is little doubt that the race of the tester affects test performance. In evaluation studies based on tests routinely administered in the classroom, not only will most black children have been tested by white teachers since virtually all schools to which they have been bussed (and most schools from which they came) are staffed by white teachers but the testing will have occurred against the history of the particular teacher's relationship with the black children in her class. When a white researcher comes to the classroom to conduct special testing, there are other effects of the tester's race. Katz (1964) found that the performance of black college students was impaired in the presence of whites, a finding he attributed to a discrepancy between the desire for success and the likelihood of achieving it in white settings. In a more recent experimental study of black college students Katz (1967) found that when the probability of success was low, better performance was obtained by the black tester. For students with a record of successful academic performance, scores were higher with the white tester. With younger children, the testing context might be expected to have more powerful effects since they would have less experience on which to base a positive self-evaluation. The research cited in the next section is relevant to this point.

The Climate of the School

One of the most controversial findings of the Coleman survey was the conclusion that school characteristics had less effect on pupil achievement than did factors external to the schools. In a re-analysis of the school correlates of achievement, Dyer (1968) noted that school characteristics are apparently more salient for some minority groups than others and that the recurring correlates reflect the characteristics of people rather than physical or administrative aspects of schools. In light of considerable evidence on the teacher's power to affect children's behavior (reviewed by Glidewell *et al.*, 1966), the Coleman finding that teacher characteristics do not strongly correlate with pupil achievement, black or white, is puzzling indeed. It is particularly difficult to reconcile this finding with recent experimental work on the power of teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). This study clearly demonstrated that teachers' favorable expectations have a salutory effect on IQ scores obtained in a standard classroom testing. All children in a lower-class, city elementary school were tested on a non-verbal test of intelligence (note the nature of the test), represented to teachers as one that could predict a child's "academic spurt" occurring in the near future. By random selection, about 20 per cent of the children were identified to their teachers as children who would show intellectual growth in the year ahead. This labeling of certain children, presumably creating a favorable expectation in the teacher's mind, was the only experimental intervention undertaken. All children were retested on the same IQ test after one and two years. The results were dramatic: the children for whom a favorable expectation had been created showed greater gains in IQ scores than did the control group children. Indeed, almost half of the favorable group gained 20 or more IQ points. Two further aspects of this study are especially relevant to outcomes of bussing programs. First, the minority group effect itself. The school population tested included a group of Mexican children. The "labeled" Mexican children showed greater IQ gains than the non-Mexican but with the small sample of "labeled" children who were Mexican, this effect was not statistically significant. In a subsidiary study, however, photographs of the Mexican children were rated for the degree of Mexican or American appearance. When these ratings were correlated with the IQ gains produced by favorable expectations, the most "Mexican-appearing" children were found to have gained the most. The authors speculate that this may reflect the fact that for those dark children, the teachers' expectations were lowest to begin with. The second point of importance for bussing programs is the fact that the effects of manipulated teacher expectations on pupil performance were greater in the lowest grades.

Teachers' expectations and the attitudes that undergird them become all the more important as it becomes clear that teachers, more often than not, get from pupils just about what they expect. (HARYOU, 1964; Clark, 1965).

Curriculum Content

Although a number of school systems have begun to respond favorably to the massive demand by blacks for an honest representation of the contribution and the history of black people, many school systems have either discouraged their teachers from this course or have refused to seriously undertake the necessary curriculum revisions. Boston is one of the cities which, until quite recently, had taken the latter course. This fact has been amply documented by Schrag (1967) and Kozol (1967). Kozol, drawing on his experiences as a teacher in Boston has emphasized the inadequacy of the curriculum content for black children in Boston schools. He presents, in his book, evidence that a segment of the geography material used by teachers at the school in which he taught presents a negative picture of black people in Africa and a positive picture of white people in Europe. He also indicates the exclusion from the curriculum of Negro contributors in science, art, music and so forth. When Kozol attempted to correct some of this injustice in his own classroom by reading a poem written by black poet Langston Hughes, he was fired from the Boston school system.

The curriculum content is likely, as Kozol suggests, to be bound up with teacher attitudes toward children and, undoubtedly, both are related to children's performance on achievement tests, a matter we referred to earlier. Those conducting research on or commenting on the academic effects of school integration should also take this into account.

The Political Climate and Community Control of Schools

Another factor which should be taken into account in the evaluation of school integration programs is the political climate in which integration takes place. When school integration is voluntarily undertaken by the city school board as in White Plains, it suggests that a more constructive atmosphere exists than when the school authorities do not work for integrated schools, as was the case for Boston. (It is notable, however, that a number of Boston suburban communities—such as Newton, Brookline, Lincoln, Arlington and others—did voluntarily undertake school integration, forming an alliance known as the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity, popularly called METCO.) Since the decisions of school boards probably are viewed by blacks as being influenced by the attitudes of the white residents of the community, it seems appropriate to characterize the type and manner of the school board's judgment as one with strong political overtones. It would be a serious omission, then, if the political climate—as perceived by black residents—were not taken into consideration in the assessment of the academic performance of the students.

Parental Attitudes in Operation Exodus . . .

The attitudes of the parents in Operation Exodus must be viewed in the light of the factors mentioned here. Although the parents are indeed interested in the academic performance of their children, they show a high and uncompromising sensitivity to the effects of the political climate, of the curriculum and of the attitudes which teachers hold on the academic performance of their children. They are trying school integration but they are aware of the great pressures being placed on black children in numerous school integration programs by those who are looking for almost immediate changes in achievement test scores without taking the context and the nature of the specific school integration program into account. Consequently, black parents, with a growing awareness of the intransigence of the educational system and of its failings, are moving steadily to gain substantial influence or control of the schools in their neighborhoods. Thus, in Operation Exodus, an organization dedicated to obtaining quality education for black children and now engaged in a bussing program, there is an apparently growing feeling that school integration is not the only answer. Parents in Exodus, in fact, have always been leery of bussing their children to white schools. They have always indicated that their primary motive was to help their children obtain a quality education. But the long fight with school officials combined with the chorus of suspect claims that black children were culturally deprived and that the school facilities and teachers—in the words of the Coleman report—were relatively unimportant to the academic performance of children have convinced a number of black parents that the welfare of their children lies in community control of community schools. These parents feel that only in this way can they assure that their children will have administrators and teachers with attitudes conducive to learning and that the children will be exposed to an honest presentation of the history of Africa and of blacks in America.

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Appendix C

BLACK FAMILY, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AND EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY*

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BLACK FAMILY, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AND EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY

In a novel statement, utilizing an admittedly exaggerated characterization, Litwak and Meyer (1966) have pointed out a striking paradox of the relationship between bureaucracies and primary groups: while the instrumental styles and patterns of bureaucratic organizations are antithetical to the affective mode which underlies the primary group (e.g., the family) the two forms (bureaucracy and primary group) remain in contact with each other. Given the difference between the two, students of organizations have implied that the two will do best not to overlap and in fact to avoid each other (Parsons, 1959). Litwak and Meyer, however, show that they do not usually remain isolated from each other in modern industrial society and that there is substantial contact between them. They (Litwak and Meyer) address themselves to the "motivation" for this contact (attainment of common goals via unique features of each); in addition they describe mechanisms which are employed by both bureaucracies and primary groups in initiating and sustaining communication with each other. Because of their essential differences in style and purpose the authors indicate that optimum contact between the two is attained when they are at some midpoint from each other, i.e., they are neither too distant nor too close to each other. Thus Litwak and Meyer employ a balance model.[1]

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[1] Later on, they describe ways in which their balance model differs from that of Heider and others. Obviously, Litwak and Meyer's approach differs from that of the psychologists in dealing with inter-organizational behavior rather than intra- and inter-personal perception and behavior. In addition while Heider and others dealt with how consistency leads to contact, Litwak and Meyer deal with how contact is initiated or maintained despite inconsistencies in major aspects of the situation.

In describing some of the coordinating mechanisms distinguishable within the literature on social organization--but which have not previously been explicitly acknowledged to be involved in the coordination between bureaucracies and external primary groups--Litwak and Meyer approach the mechanisms from the perspective of the bureaucracy but indicate that the same or similar mechanisms are available to primary groups. The coordinating mechanisms are: (1) Detached Expert; (2) Opinion Leader; (3) Settlement House; (4) Voluntary Association; (5) Common Messenger; (6) Mass Media; (7) Formal Authority; and (8) Delegated Function. Principles of communication governing the operation of these mechanisms are then described. These prinicples are focused on narrowing or increasing the social distance between bureaucracies and primary groups and govern the extent of initiative, the intensity of relations, the complexity of the communication, and the extensiveness of communication. Finally, Litwak and Meyer also describe and discuss the various types and complexities of bureaucratic organizations and how the type of organization enters into the selection of coordinating mechanisms. Space is too limited to permit a re-capitulation of their discussion here. Suffice it to say that they generate hypotheses about balance and about goal achievement by inter-relating type of bureaucracy, type of primary group, and mechanisms of coordination.

The authors acknowledge that their presentation is not meant to be exhaustive and indicate that they have presented only a first attempt to study a neglected but important problem in the understanding of contemporary society. In their closing statement, however, they point out several research and theoretical considerations which need to be taken up. Two of these considerations, acknowledged by them, and which constitute the focus of the present paper are:

(1) In the paper, the principles of coordination are posed from the perspective of the bureaucracy. The authors indicate their awareness

of this and suggest that the theory should be examined also from the perspective of primary groups. By way of example they indicate their assumption that the initiative for linkages comes from the formal organization. Acknowledging that the initiative can also come from the primary group the authors suggest that the initiations by primary groups might be different from those of bureaucracies: the bureaucracy, since it has great resources, can initiate community contact with almost any mechanism of coordination; by contrast, the primary group can only start with those mechanisms that require minimum resources. Based on experiences of the present author, Litwak and Meyer seem correct in hypothesizing that the primary group is more likely to start with a voluntary association.

(2) The authors also indicate that their theory does not discuss potential conflicts and that it gives no answer to problems such as the one arising when the primary group has goals that are contradictory to those of the formal organizations or to those of another primary group. It seems to the present author, however, that answers to this type of problem may assist in extending the Litwak-Meyer theory. Indeed, it is to this type of problem that the remainder of this paper is devoted.

When Coordinating Mechanisms Fail

It does seem that a number of resources affects the likelihood of whether or not a given coordinating mechanism will work and that these may differ in degree only for both the educational bureaucracy and the primary group. These resources will include power, knowledge, and vulnerability to pressure. They are discussed here from the perspective of the primary group and in connection with the educational bureaucracy.

Power. If the primary group has considerable influence (i.e., the ability to win allies) it has power and it then becomes a question of whether or not it can use its power appropriately via a coordinating mechanism in attempting to attain sufficient communication and balance with the educational bureaucracy and a subsequent movement toward the desired educational goal.

Knowledge. If the primary group has adequate information on the manner in which the bureaucracy works and of the formal and informal regulations governing the bureaucratic operations, presumably, this knowledge assists it in attempting to communicate with officials in the bureaucracy.

Vulnerability. The primary group may have power and knowledge and fail to attain a balanced relationship to the bureaucracy if it is vulnerable to pressures arising from the efforts of a competing primary group which is also attempting to effect communication with the educational bureaucracy. In a sense, it is the vulnerability of the bureaucracy to the latter group's desire for linkage which may inhibit linkage by the former primary group.

One does indeed wonder what happens when the coordinating mechanism being employed by a primary group fails to achieve the desired communication with the bureaucracy, or when the desired balance is attained but the goal sought by the primary group is not attained. It is suggested here that when the optimum communication is not established by the primary group with the educational bureaucracy or when the communication does not seem to be leading towards the desired educational goal, one or more of the following three events may result:

First, the primary group may withdraw from its attempted or established linkage or communication. If linkage has failed the group may try another coordinating mechanism or it may cease to try again, depending upon the availability of its resources. Low-income groups may be less likely than middle-income groups to make renewed attempts.

Second, the primary group may alter its goals. Thus, in some communities, where balanced communication was often not possible between black primary groups and the educational bureaucracies, many black families learned not to pursue the educational goals which they wanted for their children and instead scaled down their goals to the levels set for them by the powerful educational bureaucracies. The manner in which the educational bureaucracies set educational goals for blacks differed in various communities but, in a substantial number of cases, were likely to include the use of law and the threat of force to back up their decisions, especially in some southern communities.

Third, the primary group may enter into momentary, prolonged, or periodic conflict with the educational bureaucracy. If the primary group--during a conflict period--gains power (e.g., allies), it may break off conflict and attempt once again to employ a coordinating mechanism. Of course, conflict is itself a form of contact, but the communication during conflict periods is likely to be irrational and ineffective. A problem of course is to determine when communication has become conflict. Perhaps it is sufficient to say for now that when the primary group and/or the educational bureaucracy have ceased to attempt to employ coordinating mechanisms and pursue antithetical goals in education, this is conflict.

In Boston elements of all three of these have appeared in recent years as the result of an attempt by black primary groups to establish balanced communication with educational bureaucracies in pursuing educational goals for their children. This has happened also in a number of other cities and some of the discussion and conclusions presented here are generalizeable to other cities. The present discussion, however, deals only with the experience of black families in a predominantly black section of Boston. To tip off my conclusion in advance: If we assume, as Litwak and Meyer apparently would, that the educational bureaucracy is truly interested--at the elementary and high school levels--in the education of children, then it is remarkable, in terms of the Litwak-Meyer model, how nonrational the educational bureaucracy in America has been in most cities in the face of the highly rational behavior of blacks over a long period of time.

To return to Boston, then, and to my assertion of the nonrational response of the educational bureaucracy to the rational behavior of blacks: What evidence is there that black families tried to initiate linkage with the educational bureaucracy and why did they make this attempt in the first place?

The Educational Problem For Blacks

Interviews with black residents of Boston revealed that in the early 1960's a large number of parents felt that their children were receiving an inadequate education in Boston. These respondents felt that teacher turnover, teacher absenteeism, infrequency or total lack of homework assignments and overcrowded classrooms were responsible for the basic weaknesses which they saw in the children's educational development. Initial concern over these conditions met with little positive response by educational officials. A brief chronology of actions beginning in 1962 and showing the concern of Roxbury Negroes, follows: (1) in 1962 local civil rights groups charged that de facto segregation existed in Roxbury schools; (2) in 1963, after the School Committee's repeated denials that de facto segregation existed, the first freedom stay-out (of schools) by Negroes was held with 2,500 Negro students participating; (3) in 1964, a second school boycott was held with more than 10,000 Negro students participating; and (4) in 1965 the parents began getting desperate over the situation. It is revealing to quote the remarks of one of the most articulate of these parents in 1965 who were still relatively unorganized at that time:

> The problem of overcrowding in Roxbury schools became a severe situation when parents felt frustrated and disillusioned over the lack of communication between themselves and administrators [illegible]

> seeking solutions to the problem. Quality education is unavailable in Roxbury, not only because of overcrowded conditions, but also because of inadequate development of staff, out-dated curriculum, and the lack of incentive in teachers for developing creativity in our children.
>
> We found ourselves as parents caught up in a political maneuver between members of the Boston School Committee and city officials who engaged in dialogue over whether there was a "de jure" problem similar to that of the south or a "de facto" (confined to the north) pattern in our schools. Regardless of which phrase we adopted to describe this disgraceful situation, we felt a severe harm was being done to our children. This controversy over an inadequate education and whether or not racial imbalance exists does not happen to be a new battle. It has been waging here since 1962.

Apparently, the point that parents were seeking a good education for their children is illustrated by the above statement. It also underlines the repeated frustrations felt by Negro parents when public officials quarrel over whether or not racial imbalance exists instead of communicating with families and addressing themselves to the real problem as perceived by the parents: the adequacy and effectiveness of the children's education. It is most interesting that although few of the parents proposed school integration for the sake of integration and indeed most of them were fearful of sending their children into what was perceived as a hostile environment, nevertheless, many of the parents saw school integration at non-black schools outside of Roxbury as the only possible answer to their problem. That is, they had no hopes that the administration of their neighborhood schools or that the quality of their children's education in them would be immediately improved on the basis of individual initiative. But they did believe that the educational bureaucracy would respond to: a better organized body of black parents, the force of law, and (an assumed) white public opinion in favor of school integration. They were wrong in these beliefs as the educational bureaucracy did not even respond positively to their efforts to initiate contact, much less to their desires for a quality education for their children.

More specifically, and true to Litwak and Meyer's prediction about the type of coordinating mechanism which the primary group would employ in its attempt to communicate with the bureaucracy the parents, in 1965, formed themselves into a voluntary association called the "North Dorchester-Roxbury Parent Association." This association pointed out the weaknesses of the educational system vis-a-vis blacks in Boston to the educational bureaucracy but failed to achieve the balanced relationship with this bureaucracy which Litwak and Meyer indicate is necessary for goal achievement. Although the parent association had some power and apparently acquired allies, the educational bureaucracy remained unimpressed. Following is a sketchy outline of events which in part preceded and in part followed the formation of the parent association in Boston in 1965.

The Massachusetts State Board of Education had become concerned about the increasing number of voices raised in criticism against the inadequate educational opportunities provided for black children in Boston. It (the State Board) decided to deal with the issue of school racial imbalance[2] and made possible a report on school racial imbalance prepared by the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education. The charge to this committee in March 1964 included an effort to determine whether or not there was racial imbalance in schools and to study both its educational consequences and ways of dealing with it if found. In brief, the Advisory Committee did find (report dated April 1965) that racial imbalance existed in some of the communities of Massachusetts (including Boston) and that its effects were harmful. Subsequently, in August 1965, the Massachusetts legislature enacted the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act (Chapter 641, Acts 1965) providing for the elimination of racial imbalance in public schools, the first such state legislation in the country. The act declares it to be the policy of the Commonwealth:

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2. In defining a racially imbalanced school, the committee wrote "a racially imbalanced school is one in which the racial composition of the school population is sharply out of balance with the racial composition of the society in which Negro children study, serve, and work," p. 1.

> to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools. The prevention or elimination of racial imbalance shall be an objective in all decisions involving the drawing or altering of school attendance lines and the selection of new school sites. (Section 37C)

In spite of this new state law, in spite of the influence of the parent association and in spite of the evidence showing the extent of racial imbalance in Boston schools, the Boston School Committee still failed to take appropriate corrective action or even to communicate with the parent association.

Indeed, the School Committee passed a proposal in mid-summer of 1965, which banned use of school funds for the bussing of Negro children to the roughly 7,000 vacant seats throughout the broader Boston community. On the heels of this, the Superintendent stated that the only feasible solution to school overcrowding was to invoke a double-session day. All of these decisions, negative ones as far as the education of Negro children is concerned, were said to be aimed at the preservation of the neighborhood school. The weakness of the neighborhood school concept, however, is the tendency of many school officials to stand behind it as a defense for inactivity in Negro ghettoes. Indeed, the School Committee's stand made clear to Negro parents, who had relied on the school authorities to educate their children, the fact that the educational system was ignoring their children's needs.

In the face of these repeated frustrations, the Negroes of Dorchester and Roxbury became convinced that they would have to try other problem-solving means. Mrs. Ellen Jackson, the President of the Parent Association recalls the final events leading from the cessation of attempts to communicate with the educational bureaucracy through the mechanism of a voluntary association:

> It was because of these many affronts and confrontations with an unheeding school committee and school board that we decided that other action was necessary. After the statement by the Superintendent, we called a parents' meeting at the Robert Gould Shaw House in

> Dorchester. Around 250 parents attended, and we discussed the problem and possible avenues to a solution. We agreed to meet nightly for a short duration, until an operative program could be mapped out. At the close of this meeting in July, 1965, there was a general consensus that a telegram should be sent to Attorney General Katzenbach seeking an injunction in order to keep this double session day from going into effect. We also met with him several weeks later when he arrived in Boston to attend a penal convention. At this time we were assured by a man (apparently a Katzenbach assistant) who said he freely recognized the shortcomings of a double session day, because his children had been victims of it, and that he would look into the matter.
>
> Time moved on and school was but a few weeks off. We continued to meet nightly, and attempted to arrive at a solution. We finally confined ourselves to three specific approaches to our problem. The first consisted of forming a human chain of parents around a school and not allowing anyone to trespass. Secondly, some parents wanted to pressure more extensively, by using petitions and pickets. The third idea was to have sit-ins by parents in both classrooms and the School Committee office. Almost by a process of elimination, we voted against all three proposals because in all instances the inconvenience would be to ourselves and our children, just as in previous demonstrations, producing short-range results. We arrived at the position of mass displacement of Negro children, now called Exodus, in order to take advantage of the 7,000 vacant seats throughout the city and available under the Open Enrollment Policy. Problems arose around this decision: how to transport, and where to finance. We called a final meeting on September 8th, attended by 600 community people. At 12:30 that night, we found ourselves with 250 children to bus and with many families committed to our program. We left the meeting and embarked on a wild recruitment program to round up transportation. We called all through the night until 4 a.m., and wound up having seven buses donated by private organizations and civil rights groups. At 8 a.m. September 9, 1965, all buses, cars and children were ready to roll. The money for our buses was donated by various groups, such as the NAACP, labor unions, and from many individuals. The second day of school, we had financial support from merchants and business men in our immediate community. Thus, the die had been cast.

The immediate result, then, of the failure to attain satisfactory communication and action from the educational bureaucracy was change of the role of the parent association from that of a group attempting to establish linkage with the educational bureaucracy to a group whose chief function was one ordinarily performed by the educational bureaucracy. In classic theory of bureaucracy, this then put the primary group in conflict with the bureaucracy. The parents had actually believed that they would have to run the bussing operation for only a few days and that both their demonstrated concern and their taking over a function of the educational bureaucracy would so embarrass the school bureaucracy that it would immediately agree to show its goodwill and intention to obey the state law on school racial imbalance by taking over the operation (and the expense) of the bussing. They were wrong in this hope or expectation: four years later, they were still in the bussing business and receiving no aid from the educational bureaucracy of the City of Boston.

It is not surprising, then, that these parents greatly developed their knowledge about all phases of the educational enterprise. Moreover, they attracted some academicians--black and white--who assisted in many ways, but it was the parents themselves who provided all the leadership and most of the skills needed to run this bussing operation, known as Operation Exodus.

The knowledge thus acquired produced a heightened interest in the teaching function, in the way educational officials made administrative decision at the level of individual schools, in decisions made in the Office of The Board of Education, as well as in the School Committee--a body of elected officials. The more the parents learned about these matters, the more they began to think that they should have even more say over the education of their children. This group of parents also became the focus in the black community of all primary groups who had some concern about the education of their children--thus many parents whose children were not being bussed and still attending the inadequate neighborhood schools brought their school problems to the office of the parent association, (Operation Exodus). Also about this time--late 1965--the black community made a strong effort to elect a black to the ruling educational bureaucracy in Boston. They failed in this attempt.

Because, then, of (a) their conflict with the established educational bureaucracy over bussing, (b) their position as the leading black organization in the area of educational problems, and (c) the black community's failure to elect a black to the School Committee, Exodus then began to make it known that their group was interested in gaining greater influence over the education of their children, i.e., they advocated community control of schools. In the writer's judgment, this advocacy of community control might be best characterized as a step in the suburbanization of the blacks.

This (suburbanization process) is brought on by blacks who want what most white Americans want for their children but find themselves alienated from the educational bureaucracy which is or should be better qualified than parents are to deal with the administration and the issues of education. These blacks are alienated from the educational bureaucracy because the latter is not responsive to their needs. White parents who are disgusted with the educational and perhaps other bureaucracies and who find themselves without the will or the power to communicate and influence the urban educational bureaucracy attempt to solve their problem by moving to the suburbs where, not infrequently, they succeed in asserting their will or at least in verbalizing their concerns (Kerr, 1964). Black families who do not achieve movement toward the desired education and other goals, cannot, as a rule, move into the suburbs. What they must do, it seems, is to gain control over their urban neighborhoods and this means control over the schools, (control over the police,) and so forth. All such control-seeking processes may be summed up under the term suburbanization because that is what happened with respect to many whites who could not achieve the goals they sought within the city.

The present lack of financial resources to open their own private schools is another factor which encourages black primary groups to control their own (public) schools. When and if such resources become available this will provide another possibility for blacks to move toward the desired educational goal.

In connection with the bussing project just described, it is important to note that the Boston educational bureaucracy did not try to mobilize opinion in favor of any integration plan for several years, a necessary step since many northern whites are opposed to bussing for the purpose of achieving school integration. Indeed, one of the members of the School Committee encouraged or appealed to white prejudices against integration and, apparently, almost became the mayor of Boston by so doing. But these actions by the educational bureaucracy and by white citizens assumed that the major motivating force behind the actions of black parents was the desire for school integration. This was an apparently false assumption for our research showed that over a long period of time blacks had been quite consistently saying that they wanted the educational bureaucracy to provide a decent educational opportunity for their children (Teele and Mayo, 1969). In fact, many black parents bussed their children to nearly all-white schools in spite of their fear of possible hostile actions against their children--a fear honestly earned since the Supreme Court Decision of 1954.

This desire among blacks for educational opportunity for their children and their challenge to the traditional educational bureaucracy is pointed toward a desire to communicate with and to become a part of the social system. However, the educational bureaucracies--often because of outside powers--have usually failed to seek or permit this necessary communication, and instead have acted as if the blacks were irrational. Standing in the shadows, lending periodic and sometimes steady encouragement to bureaucratic intransigence and the status quo are those who indicate that tests show that blacks are not as intelligent as whites.[3]

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3. In somewhat more sophisticated form than earlier writings which strove to show that blacks were of inferior mental ability, some contemporary educators are also suggesting that blacks are less intelligent than whites. From the amount of publicity given such writers it would seem that there is a coordinated drive afoot to get those who wish to end the discrimination, segregation, and inequality of opportunity in our schools to spend an inordinate amount of their time countering this profoundly untestable--and so, apparently racist--hypothesis. For an example, see the article by Jensen (1969).

This, too, convinces black parents that they must gain some control over their schools.

There is no need to elaborate further on the conflict between the educational bureaucracy and the black family. In sum, each succeeding event in Boston, stretched out over a period of years, seemed to increase the distance between the bureaucracy and the primary group.

A cycle of events followed from the failure to the attempt by black families to improve communication with the educational bureaucracy. The result was that the parent association formed by black families in Boston withdrew the attempt and assumed an educational function usually best handled by the bureaucracy, i.e., school bussing to achieve integration. It is not surprising that conflict resulted from this challenge of the bureaucracy by the parents.

Summary and Conclusions

The paper has described some of the consequences which resulted when black families (primary groups) failed in their attempt to gain communication with the educational bureaucracy over an apparently common goal: the education of black children.

The parent association which was employed in this attempt then withdrew in this attempt at communication while continuing its pursuit of the educational goal. In doing so it assumed one of the functions previously performed by the bureaucracy: the bussing of children and entered into conflict with the bureaucracy. The result is realization by these parents that they need more control over the education of their children--a process which is here called the suburbanization of blacks. Naturally this process whittles away at the powers of the bureaucracy which leads the latter to attempt to neutralize or oppose such an effect.

The process is far along now with more and more groups and individuals (e.g., teacher unions, political parties, white parents) taking one or the other side. At some future time, it is likely that either the bureaucracy or the parents will attempt to initiate direct communication again, since they still need each other. This time may come only when there is mutual respect on both sides of the issue.

Balance theorists may find the experience described here useful in focusing on: (1) circumstances leading to the failure of existing coordinating mechanisms in general, (2) the short-term consequences of failure, and (3) the resolution of situations of imbalance between primary groups and bureaucracies following periods of severe conflict. This is an important task for them since the Boston experience described here--with respect to educational bureaucracies and primary groups--has occurred in similar form in other cities. Similarly, conflict between primary groups and other bureaucracies (e.g., the welfare bureaucracy) has also been on the increase.

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FALL 1967

APPENDIX D

GRADES 3 & 4

NAME: ______________________________

ADDRESS: ______________________________

GRADE: ______________________________

SCHOOL: ______________________________

DATE: ______________________________

GRADES 3 & 4

Mark the space on the sheet which is correct for you for each of the questions below. You may leave any question you do not want to answer.

1. Which one are you? _____Boy _____Girl

2. How old are you now?

_____7 or younger _____8 _____9 _____10 _____11 or older

3. Are you ...

_____Negro _____American Indian _____Puerto Rican _____Other

4. What school do you attend this year? ______________________________

5. What school did you go to last year ______________________________

a) What school did you go to before you started here? _______________

b) When did you first start attending your present school? __________

6. How many people live in your home? Count mother, father, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and any others who live with you. Count yourself but don't count your pets.

_____2 _____3 _____4 _____5 _____6 _____7 _____8

_____9 _____10 _____11 or more

7. How many children (under 18) are in your family? _____1 (only me)

_____2 _____3 _____4 _____5 _____6 _____7 _____8

_____9 _____10 or more

8. Do you live with your mother? _____Yes _____No

9. Do you also live with your father? _____Yes _____No

(Go to the next page)

10. Does your mother go work?

_____Yes _____No _____I don't have a mother

11. Did anyone read to you before you started going to school?

_____No _____Yes, sometimes _____Yes, a lot _____I don't remember

12. Does anyone in your home speak a language other than English most of the time? (Spanish, Italiam, Polish, German, etc.)

_____Yes _____No

13. Do you speak a language other than English outside of school?

_____Yes _____No

14. How many rooms are there in your home? Count only the rooms your family lives in. Count the kitchen (if separate) but not bathrooms.

_____1 _____2 _____3 _____4 _____5 _____6 _____7 _____8

_____9 _____10 or more

15. Does your family have a television set?

_____Yes _____No

16. Does your family have a telephone?

_____Yes _____No

17. Does your family have a record player, hi-fi, or stereo?

_____Yes _____No

18. Does your family have a refrigerator?

_____Yes _____No

19. Does your family have a dictionary?

_____Yes _____No _____I don't know

20. Does your family have an encyclopedia?

_____Yes _____No _____I don't know

21. Does your family have an automobile?

_____Yes _____No

22. Does your family have a vacuum cleaner?

_____Yes _____No

(Go to the Next Page)

23. Does your family get a newspaper every day?

_____Yes _____No

24. Did you read any books last summer? Don't count magazines, weekly readers, or comic books.

_____No _____Yes, 1 or 2 _____Yes, about 5 _____Yes about 10

_____Yes, more than 10

25. On school days, how much time do you watch TV at home?

_____None or almost none _____About 1/2 hour a day

_____About 1 hour a day _____About 1 1/2 hours a day

_____About 2 hours a day _____About 3 hours a day

_____Four or more hours a day

26. How many different schools have you gone to since the first grade? Count only schools which you went to during the day.

_____1 (only this school) _____2 _____3 _____4 _____5 or more

27. If you had your choice, would you rather go to another school than this one?

_____Yes _____No _____I'm not sure

28. Do most of your classmates like you?

_____Yes _____No

29. How good a student are you?

_____One of the best students in my class

_____Above the middle of my class _____In the middle of my class

_____Below the middle of my class _____Near the bottom of my class

30. How good a student does your mother want you to be in school?

_____One of the best students in my class

_____Above the middle of the class _____In the middle of my class

_____Just good enough to get by _____Don't know or doesn't apply

31. Most of the children in this class are:

_____Very Smart _____Pretty Smart _____Not Too Smart

(Go to the next page)

32. Did you have a Negro teacher last year? Don't count substitutes.

_____Yes _____No

Do you have a Negro teacher this year? _____Yes _____No

Have you every had a Negro teacher? _____Yes _____No

If yes, what grade was that? __________

33. How many of your friends are white?

_____None _____A few _____About half _____Most of them

_____All of them

34. Did you go to kindergarten?

_____Yes _____No

35. Did you go to nursery school before you went to kindergarten?

_____Yes _____No _____I don't remember

36. What grade were you in last year?

_____First _____Second _____Third

37. How Long does it take you to get from your home in the morning to school?

_____10 minutes _____20 minutes _____30 minutes _____45 minutes

_____One hour or more

38. How do you usually come to school in the morning?

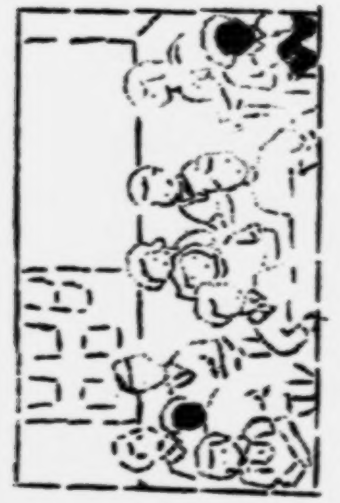
_____By automobile _____Walk or bicycle _____School bus

_____Bus (other than school bus), train, trolley, or subway

_____Other

(Go to the next page)

A



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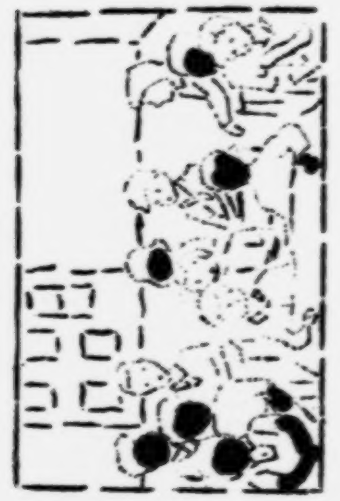

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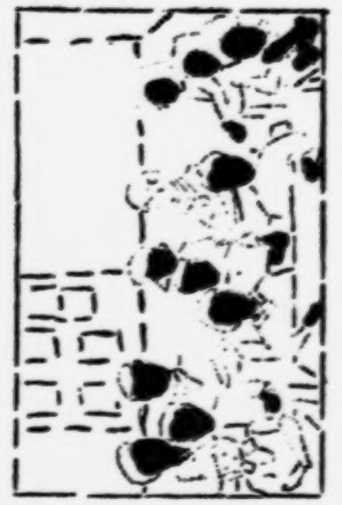

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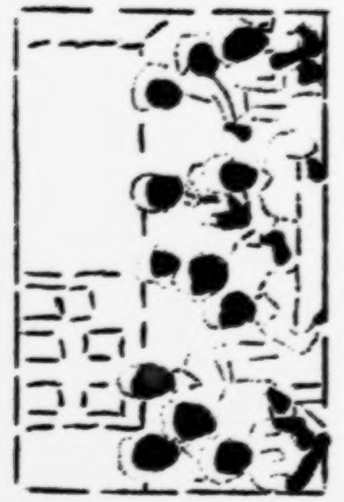


Look around your class and then look at each of the pictures above. There are four questions about these pictures. For each question check the blank that has the same letter as the picture you choose.

39. Find the picture that looks most like the children in your class now.

____A ____B ____C ____D

40. Find the picture that looks most like the children in your class last year (1966-67).

____A ____B ____C ____D

41. Find the picture that looks most like the children in your class the year before last.

____A ____B ____C ____D

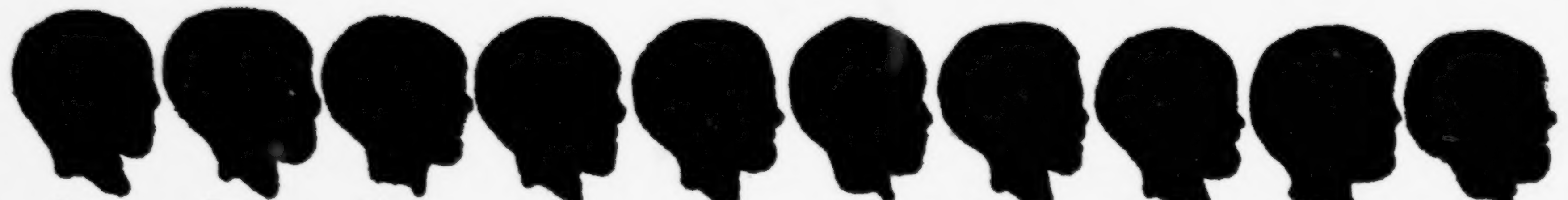
42. Find the picture that looks most like your good friends.

____A ____B ____C ____D

43. (For Third Graders Only:) Did you attend Project Head Start?

____Yes ____No, but attended another pre-school program ____No

(Go to the next page)



42. Look at the drawing at the top of the page. Make believe that they are pictures of some of the children in your class. The first child, number 1 on the numbers below the picture, is the best liked boy or girl in the class. The least liked is number ten. I want you to decide about where you belong in the line and put a circle around the right number. If you think you are the best liked person in your class, put a circle around number one. If you are near the best like, you might circle number two or three. If you are near the middle, you might circle four, five or six. The least liked you are, the higher the number you should circle on the row of numbers. If you think you are near the least liked, but not quite, you circle number nine. If you are the least liked of all the children, circle number ten.

43. Do as many of your classmates like you as you want to like you?

____Yes (enough) ____No (not enough)

44. What things do you like best about this school? Circle the ones you think are true:

(1) The teachers help you a lot.

(2) The teachers seem to like me.

(3) The children seem to like me.

(4) The building is pretty.

(5) I learn a lot.

(Go to the next page)

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45. What things do you dislike about this school? Circle the ones you think are true:

(1) The building is ugly.

(2) There's a lot of fighting.

(3) The teachers don't help you enough.

(4) The children are not friendly enough.

(5) The teachers don't seem to like me.

46. Would you like to stay here next year or go to a different school?

____Stay Here ____Go to a Different School

47. What do you want to be when you grow up?

48. Do you think you'll be able to be what you want to be?

____Yes ____No

(Go to the next page)

MY CLASS

We would like to find out how you feel about your class. Here are 20 sentences about a class. I am going to read each sentence to you. You are to ask yourself, "Does this sentence tell about my class?" Then mark the answer you like best. Do it like this:

SAMPLE

A. I go to school. [✓ Yes] No I'm not sure

B. We go to school on Saturday. Yes [✓ No] I'm not sure

- -

1. It is hard to make real friends in this class Yes No I'm not sure

2. Nearly everyone in this class wants to work hard.. Yes No I'm not sure

3. The children in this class are happy and pleased when you do something for them......... Yes No I'm not sure

4. Many children in this class are not fair....... Yes No I'm not sure

5. We need a better classroom to do our best work Yes No I'm not sure

6. Nearly everyone minds his or her own business Yes No I'm not sure

7. You can really have a good time in this class Yes No I'm not sure

8. One or two children in this class spoil everything.................................. Yes No I'm not sure

9. Everyone tries to keep the classroom looking nice.. Yes No I'm not sure

10. We don't have a lot of the things we need to do our best work.............................. Yes No I'm not sure

11. The children in this class are pretty mean Yes No I'm not sure

12. A lot of children in this class don't like to do things together.............................. Yes No I'm not sure

13. Everyone gets a chance to show what he or she can do.................................... Yes No I'm not sure

14. Nearly everyone in this class is polite........ Yes No I'm not sure

15. I don't feel as if I belong in this class...... Yes No I'm not sure

16. Most of the children in this class do not want to try anything new........................... Yes No I'm not sure

MY CLASS (continued)

17.	Nearly everyone in this class can do a good job if he or she tries......................	Yes	No	I'm not sure
18.	A lot of the children look down on others in the class..................................	Yes	No	I'm not sure
19.	You can trust almost everyone in this class...	Yes	No	I'm not sure
20.	We do a lot of interesting things in this class	Yes	No	I'm not sure

MY SCHOOL

Now we would like you to tell us how you feel about your school. Here are some things that some boys and girls say about their school. Are these things true about your school? If they are very true for your school, circle the big "YES!" If they are pretty much true, but not completely true, circle the little "yes." If they are not completely untrue, circle the little "no." If they are not at all true, circle the big "NO!"

1.	The teachers in this school want to help you	YES!	yes	no	NO!
2.	The teachers in this school expect you to work too hard................................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
3.	The teachers in this school are really interested in you............................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
4.	The teachers in this school know how to explain things clearly....................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
5.	The teachers in this school are fair and square....................................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
6.	The boys and girls in this school fight too much......................................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
7.	This school has good lunches in the cafeteria	YES!	yes	no	NO!
8.	This school building is a pleasant place......	YES!	yes	no	NO!
9.	The principal in this school is friendly......	YES!	yes	no	NO!
10.	The work at this school is too hard...........	YES!	yes	no	NO!
11.	What I am learning will be useful to me.......	YES!	yes	no	NO!
12.	The trip to and from school is too long.......	YES!	yes	no	NO!
13.	I wish I didn't have to go to school at all...	YES!	yes	no	NO!

(Go to the next page)

MY SCHOOL (continued)

14.	This is the best school I know..............	YES!	yes	no	NO!
15.	The work at this school is too easy.........	YES!	yes	no	NO!
16.	I work hard in school but don't seem to get anywhere..............................	YES!	yes	no	NO!
17.	I've learned more this year than any earlier year....................................	YES!	yes	no	NO!

How long do you want to go to school? (Check one)

_____Only until I'm old enough to quit

_____Through high school but no more

_____I want to go to college

APPENDIX E

FALL 1967

GRADES 5-8

NAME: ____________________

ADDRESS: ____________________

GRADE: ____________________

SCHOOL: ____________________

DATE: ____________________

Mark the space on the answer sheet corresponding to the answer that is correct for you for each question. Mark only one answer for each question. You may leave out any question you prefer not to answer.

1. Are you a boy or girl?

   (A) Boy (B) Girl

2. How old are you now?

   (A) 9 or younger (B) 10 (C) 11 (D) 12 (E) 13 or older

3. Where were you born?

   (A) In this city, town, or country (B) Somewhere else in this state (C) In another state in the U.S. (D) In Puerto Rico (E) In Mexico (F) In Canada (G) In some other country (H) I don't know

4. Which one of the following best describes you?

   (A) Negro (B) White (C) American Indian (D) Oriental (E) Other

5. Are you Puerto Rican?

   (A) Yes (B) No

6. Are you Mexican American?

   (A) Yes (B) No

7. How many people live in your home? Count mother, father, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and any others who live with you. Count yourself but don't count your pets.

   (A) 2 (B) 3 (C) 4 (D) 5 (E) 6 (F) 7 (G) 8 (H) 9 (I) 10 (J) 11 or more

8. How many children (under 18) are in your family? Count yourself.

   (A) 1--only me ((B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4 (E) 5 (F) 6 (G) 7 (H) 8 (I) 9 (J) 10 or more

9. Do you live with your father?

   (A) Yes (B) No

(Go on to next page.)

10. Do you live with your mother?

    (A) Yes (B) No

11. How far in school did your father go?

    (A) None, or some grade school (B) Completed grade school

    (C) Some high school, but did not graduate

    (D) Graduated from high school (E) Vocational or business school after high school

    (F) Some college, but less than four years

    (G) Graduated from a four-year college

    (H) Attended graduate or professional school (I) I don't know.

12. What kind of work does, or did, your father usually do? If it is not in the list below, mark whatever seems to be the closest for his main job.

    (A) Draftsman or medical technician

    (B) Company executive or government official

    (C) Store owner or manager, office manager

    (D) Sales clerk, office or bank clerk, truck driver, waiter, policeman, bookkeeper, mailman, barber

    (E) Salesman

    (F) Farm owner

    (G) Farm worker

    (H) Factory worker, laborer, or gas station attendant

    (I) Doctor, lawyer, clergyman, engineer, scientist, teacher, professor, artist, or accountant

    (J) Carpenter, electrician, mechanic, tailor or foreman in a factory

    (K) Don't know

13. Where was your mother born?

    (A) In this state (B) In another state in the U. S.

    (C) In Puerto Rico (D) In Mexico (E) In Canada

    (F) In some other country (G) I don't know

14. How far in school did your mother go?

(A) None, or some grade school (B) Completed grade school

(B) Some high school, but did not graduate

(D) Graduated from high school

(E) Vocational or business school after high school

(F) Some college, but less than 4 years

(G) Graduated from a four-year college

(H) Attended graduate or professional school (I) I don't know.

15. Does your mother have a job outside your home?

(A) Yes, full-time (B) Yes, part-time (C) No

16. Does anyone in your home speak a language other than English most of the time? (German, Italian, Spanish, etc.)

(A) Yes (B) No

17. Do you speak a language other than English outside of school?

(A) Yes (B) No

18. Did anyone at home read to you when you were small, before you started school?

(A) No (B) Once in a while (C) Many times, but not regularly

(D) Many times and regularly (E) I don't remember

19. Does your family have a television set?

(A) Yes (B) No

20. Does your family have a telephone?

(A) Yes (B) No

21. Does your family have a record player, hi-fi, or stereo?

(A) Yes (B) No

22. Does your family have a refrigerator?

(A) Yes (B) No

23. Does your family have a dictionary?

(A) Yes (B) No (C) I don't know

24. Does your family have an encyclopedia?

(A) Yes (B) No (C) I don't know

25. Does your family have an automobile?

(A) Yes (B) No

26. Does your family have a vacuum cleaner?

(A) Yes (B) No

27. Does your family get a newspaper every day?

(A) Yes (B) No

28. Did you read any books during the last summer? (Do not count magazines or comic books.)

(A) No (B) Yes, 1 or 2 (C) Yes, about 5 (D) Yes, about 10

(E) Yes, more than 10

29. On school days, how much time do you watch TV at home?

(A) None or almost none (B) About 1/2 an hour a day

(C) About 1 hour a day (D) About 1-1/2 hours a day

(E) About 2 hours a day (F) About 3 hours a day

(G) Four or more hours a day

30. How many different schools have you gone to since you started the first grade?

(A) One--only this school (B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4 (E) 5 or more

31. Last year how many of the students in your class were white?

(A) None (B) A few (C) About half (D) Most of them

(E) Nearly all of them

32. About how much time do you spend each day on homework? ("Homework" means school assignments that you do at home.)

(A) I have no homework (B) About 1/2 an hour a day

(C) About 1 hour a day (D) About 1/1/2 hours a day

(E) About 2 or more hours a day

33. If I could change, I would be someone different from myself.

(A) Yes (B) No (C) Not sure

34. I can do many things well.

(A) Yes (B) No (C) Not sure

35. I would go to another school rather than this one if I could.

(A) Yes (B) No (C) Not sure

36. I like school.

(A) Yes (B) No

37. I sometimes feel I just can't learn.

(A) Yes (B) No

38. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.

(A) Agree (B) Not sure (C) Disagree

39. Most of my classmates like me.

(A) Yes (B) Not sure (C) No

40. How good a student are you?

(A) One of the best students in my class

(B) Above the middle of my class (C) In the middle of my class

(D) Below the middle of my class (E) Near the bottom of my class

41. How good a student does your mother want you to be in school?

(A) One of the best students in my class

(B) Above the middle of the class (C) In the middle of my class

(D) Just good enough to get by (E) Don't know

42. How good a student does your father want you to be in school?

(A) One of the best students in my class

(B) Above the middle of the class (C) In the middle of my class

(D) Just good enough to get by (E) Don't know

43. Did you have a non-white teacher last year (for example Negro, American Indian, Oriental)? Don't count substitute teachers.

(A) Yes (B) No

44. Think now of your close friends. How many of them are white?

(A) None (B) A few (C) About half (D) Most of them

(E) All of them

45. Did you go to kindergarten?

(A) Yes (B) No

46. Did you go to nursery school before you went to kindergarten?

(A) Yes (B) No (C) I don't remember

47. What grade were you in last year?

(A) Fourth (B) Fifth (C) Sixth

48. About how long does it take you to get from your home to school in the morning?

(A) 10 minutes or less (B) 20 minutes (C) 30 minutes

(D) 45 minutes (E) One hour or more

49. How do you usually come to school in the morning?

(A) By automobile (B) Walk or bicycle (C) School bus

(D) Train, trolley, subway, or bus othern than school bus

(E) Other

50. Is there another public school with your grade as close or closer to your home than this one?

(A) Yes (B) No (C) Don't know

51. Mark the highest grade you want to finish in school.

(A) Grades 6 or 7 (B) Grades 8 or 9 (C) Grades 10 or 11

(D) Grade 12 (E) College

52. Think now who you would like most to have for your classmates. How many of them would be white?

(A) None (B) A few (C) About half (D) Most of them

(E) All of them (F) It doesn't matter

53. When you finish school, what sort of job do you think you will have? Pick the one that is closest.

BOYS ANSWER FROM THE SELECTIONS BELOW

(A) Draftsman or medical technician

(B) Banker, company officer, or government official

(C) Store owner or manager, office manager

(D) Sales clerk, office clerk, truck driver, waiter, policeman, bookkeeper, mailman, barber

(E) Salesman

(F) Farm or ranch manager or owner

(G) Farm worker on one or more than one farm

(H) Factory worker, laborer, or gas station attendant

(I) Doctor, lawyer, clergyman, engineer, scientist, teacher, professor, artist, accountant

(J) Carpenter, electrician, mechanic, tailor, or foreman in a factory

(K) Don't know

GIRLS ANSWER FROM THE SELECTIONS BEL

(A) Housewife only

(B) Doctor, lawyer, scientist

(C) Beautician

(D) Bookkeeper or secretary

(E) Waitress or laundry worker

(F) School teacher

(G) Nurse

(H) Saleslady

(I) Maid or domestic servant

(J) Factory worker

(K) Don't know

54. How often do you and your parents talk about your school work?

(A) Just about every day (B) Once or twice a week

(C) Occasionally, but not often (D) Never or hardly ever

55. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

(A) Agree (B) Not sure (C) Disagree

56. Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.

(A) Agree (B) Not sure (C) Disagree

57. Since you began school, how many of the students in your classes were white?

(A) None (B) Less than half (C) About half

(D) More than half (E) Just about all

58. What was the first grade you attended with students from another race in your class?

(A) First grade (B) Second grade (C) Third grade

(D) Fourth grade (E) Fifth grade (F) Sixth grade

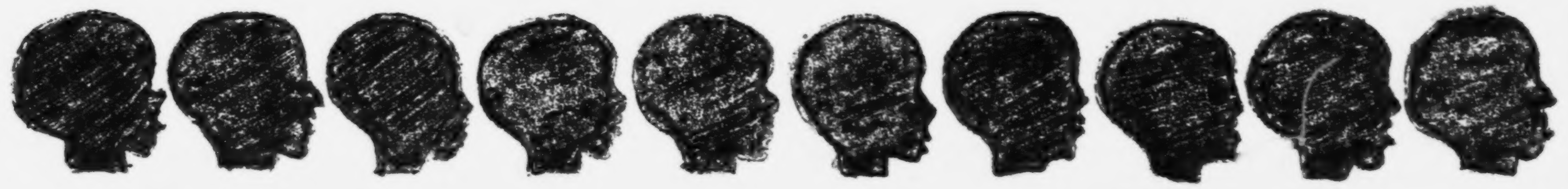
59. Have you ever had a non-white teacher?

(A) Yes (B) No

If you have had a non-white teacher, circle the grade in which you had one. (You may circle more than one) Don't count substitutes.

(A) First grade (B) Second grade (C) Third grade

(D) Fourth grade (E) Fifth grade (F) Sixth grade



6-. Look at the drawing above. Make believe that they are pictures of some of the children in your class. The first child, number one on the numbers below the picture, is the best liked boy or girl in the class. The least liked one is number ten. I want you to decide about where you belong in the line and put a circle around the right number. If you think you are the best liked person in your class, put a circle around number two or three. If you are near the middle, you might circle four, five, or six. The least liked you are, the higher the number you should circle on the row of numbers. If you think you're near the least liked, but not quite, you circle number nine. If you are the least liked of all the children, circle number ten.

61. Do as many classmates like you as you want to like you?

(A) Yes (B) No

We would like to find out how you feel about your class. Here are twenty sentences about a class. I am going to read each sentence to you. You are to ask yourself, "Does this sentence tell about my class?" Then mark the answer you like best. Do it like this:

SAMPLE

A. I go to school. Yes No I'm not sure

B. We go to school on Saturday. Yes No I'm not sure

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1. It is hard to make real friends in this class. . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

2. Nearly everyone in this class wants to work hard . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

3. The children in this class are happy and pleased when you do something for them . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

4. Many children in this class are not fair . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

5. We need a better classroom to do our best work . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

6. Nearly everyone minds his or her own business . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

7. You can really have a good time in this class . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

8. One or two children in this class spoil everything . . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

9. Everyone tries to keep the classroom looking nice . . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

10. We don't have a lot of the things we need to do our best work . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

11. The children in this class are pretty mean. . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

12. A lot of children in this class don't like to do things together Yes No I'm not sure

13. Everyone gets a chance to show what he or she can do. . . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

14. Nearly everyone in this class is polite . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

15. I don't feel as if I belong in this class . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

16. Most of the children in this class do not want to try anything new . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

17. Nearly everyone in this class can do a good job if he or she tries Yes No I'm not sure

18. A lot of the children look down on others in the class . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

19. You can trust almost everyone in this class . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

20. We do a lot of interesting things in this class. . . . . . Yes No I'm not sure

MY SCHOOL

Now we would like you to tell us how you feel about your school. Here are some things that some boys and girls say about their school. Are these things true about your school? If they are very true for your school, circle the big "Yes!" If they are pretty much true, but not completely true, circle the little "yes." If they are not completely untrue, circle the little "no." If they are not at all true, circle the big "NO!"

1. The teachers in this school want to help you. . . . . YES! yes no NO!

2. The teachers in this school expect you to work too hard . . YES! yes no NO!

3. The teachers in this school are really interested in you. . YES! yes no NO!

4. The teachers in this school know how to explain things clearly . . . . YES! yes no NO!

5. The teachers in this school are fair and square . . . . YES! yes no NO!

6. The boys and girls in this school fight too much . . . . . YES! yes no NO!

7. This school has good lunches in the cafeteria . . . . YES! yes no NO!

8. This school building is a pleasant place . . . . YES! yes no NO!

9. The principal in this school is friendly. . . . . YES! yes no NO!

10. The work at this school is too hard . . . . YES! yes no NO!

11. What I am learning will be useful to me. . . . . YES! yes no NO!

12. The trip to and from school is too long . . . . YES! yes no NO!

13. I wish I didn't have to go to school at all. . . . . YES! yes no NO!

14. This is the best school I know YES! yes no NO!

15. The work at this school is too easy . . . . YES! yes no NO!

16. I work hard in school but don't seem to get anywhere . . . . . . YES! yes no NO!

17. I've learned more this year than any earlier year . . . . YES! yes no NO!

How long do you want to go to school? (Check one.)

______ Only until I'm old enough to quit

______ Through high school but no more

______ I want to go to college.